307475551.

Church Music Monographs.

# BYZANTINE MUSIC AND HYMNOGRAPHY

If found, please return to
WITHDRAWN
THE LIBRARY
MAGDALEN COLLEGE
OXFORD OX1 4AU

H. J. W. TILLYARD, M.A., D.LITT.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SHELF No.
MVS. S.6

Ex dono Brioni Findlay. Junii MCMLXXXIV

MAGDALEN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SHELF No. 781.7 TIL

# BYZANTINE MUSIC AND HYMNOGRAPHY

BY

H. J. W. TILLYARD, M.A., D.LITT.,

*Professor of Russian at the University of Birmingham*

THE FAITH PRESS, LTD.,
22, BUCKINGHAM STREET, CHARING CROSS, W.C.2.

1923.

## CHURCH MUSIC MONOGRAPHS.

1. THE CHORALES. A. W. Wilson, M.A., Mus. Doc., Organist of Manchester Cathedral.
2. THE CHURCH ORGAN. Rev. Noel Bonavia-Hunt, M.A.
3. PLAINCHANT. Very Rev. Dom Gatard, O.S.B.
4. THE PRIEST'S PART OF THE ANGLICAN LITURGY. C. W. Pearce, M.A., Mus. Doc.
5. LATIN HYMNODY. Rev. H. V. Hughes, M.A.
6. BYZANTINE MUSIC AND HYMNOGRAPHY. H. J. W. Tillyard, D.Litt.

THE FAITH PRESS, LTD.

Printed in Great Britain by Mackays Ltd., Chatham.

# Contents


PAGE

PREFACE ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... v

AUTHORITIES ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... vi

CHAPTER I.—Christian Classical Poetry ... ... ... ... ... ... 1

CHAPTER II.—Early Christian Hymnography: Romanus, Sergius ... ... 8

CHAPTER III.—The Canon and its exponents, S. Andrew of Crete, S. John of Damascus, S. Cosmas... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 19

CHAPTER IV.—Minor Byzantine Hymnography up to the 9th Century ... 25

CHAPTER V.—Later Developments of Greek Hymnody ... ... ... 32

CHAPTER VI.—Development of Byzantine Musical Notation: General Explanations ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 37

CHAPTER VII.—The Round System of Notation ... ... ... ... 45

CHAPTER VIII.—Examples of Mediæval Hymns in the Round System of Notation ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 51

CHAPTER IX.—The Cucuzelian System ... ... ... ... ... ... 57

CHAPTER X.—The Modern System ... ... ... ... ... ... 60

CHAPTER XI.—The Future of Byzantine Music ... ... ... ... ... 69

INDEX ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 71

# Preface

This book is intended to give in a few pages the most needful information for the student of Greek Church Music. But as the tunes are always connected with the words, a certain knowledge of the literary side of Greek hymnography is required; and this I have tried to supply in a short Introduction. The complicated subject of the Byzantine liturgy can only be treated in passing references; but ample instruction will be found in the authorities tabulated below. With the music it is otherwise; for there is no English account of the mediæval system extant; and what I now offer to the reader is based more upon my own research than on the conclusions of earlier investigators. It should be possible for a scholar, with the aid of our data, to read almost any manuscript in the Byzantine musical notation from the thirteenth century to the present day. To the music-lover, not bent on special study, I believe that the brief sketch of the mediæval tone-system and rhythm, with the transcriptions of various hymns, will not be unwelcome. At any rate, it should convince him of the wide possibilities of discovery in this branch of the art.

H. J. W. T.

# List of Books

(Articles in periodicals will be quoted in footnotes.)

## (1) ON BYZANTINE RITUAL AND SACRED POETRY.


Bouvy, Edm.—*Étude sur les origines du rhythme tonique dans l'hymnographie de l'Église grecque.*

Chatfield, A. W. —*Songs and Hymns of the Greek Christian Poets.*

Chevalier, Ul.—*Poésie liturgique du moyen-âge.*

Christ, W., and Paranikas, M.—*Anthologia graeca carminum Christianorum.*

Hammond, C. E.—*Liturgies, Eastern and Western.*

Jordan, Herm.—*Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.*

Article, *Greek Hymnody,* in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology.*

Krumbacher, K.—*Byzantinische Literatur.*

Neale, J. M.—*History of the Holy Eastern Church*: *General Introduction.*
*Hymns of the Eastern Church.*

Pitra, J.—*Analecta Sacra.*
*Hymnographie de l'Eglise grecque.*

Swainson, C. A.—*Greek Liturgies.*

Woodward, G. R.—*The Most Holy Mother of God in the Songs of the Eastern Church.*


## (2) HISTORY OF MUSIC.

(The following contain some reference to Byzantine Music, but none gives adequate treatment of the subject.)


Papadopoulos, G.— Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς.
(History of mediæval and modern Greek music.)

Pratt, W. S.—*History of Music.*

Remantes, A., and Zacharias, P. D.—Ἀρίων. Athens, 1917.
(General history of Greek Music—ancient, ecclesiastical, and popular—with examples.)

Stanford, J. V., and Forsyth, C.—*History of Music.*

Stewart, J. W.—*Music in the Church.*

Woollett, H.—*Histoire de la musique.*

Zacharias, P. D.—*Music of the Greeks.*
(Three lectures, in Modern Greek.)

## (3) MEDIÆVAL BYZANTINE MUSIC: MODERN BYZANTINE MUSIC AND GREEK FOLKSONGS.

Bourgault-Doucoudray, E.—*Études sur la musique ecclésiastique grecque.*
(On the modern system, with examples.)
*Trente Mélodies populaires de la Grèce et de l'Orient.*

Christ, W., and Paranikas.—*Op. cit.*
(Account of modern system in introduction.)

Chrysanthus.—Θεωρητικὸν μέγα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς.
Trieste, 1832: reprint, Athens, 1911. (The standard manual of the modern system, by its inventor.)

Fleischer, O.—*Neumenstudien*, T. 3.
(The most useful handbook for a detailed study of the later mediæval system. Numerous illustrations and translations.)

Gaisser, Ugo.—*Le Système musical de l'Église grecque d'après la tradition.*
*Les "Heirmoi" de Pâques dans l'Office grec.*

Gastoué, Am.—*Introduction à la Paléographie musicale byzantine.*

Hatherly, S. G.—*Treatise on Byzantine Music.*
(Deals chiefly with the modern modes.)

Neale, J. M., and Hatherly, S. G.—*Hymns of the Eastern Church with Music.*

Pachtikos, G.—Δημώδη Ἑλληνικὰ ᾄσματα. Athens, 1905.
(Greek folksongs.)

Psachos, K. A.—Δημώδη ᾄσματα Σκύρου. Athens, 1910.
(Folksongs from Scyros.)

Rebours, P.—*Traité de psaltique.*
(Exhaustive work on modern system, with numerous examples.)

Riemann, H.—*Die byzantinische Notenschrift im* 10 *bis* 15 *Jahrhundert.*

Thibaut, J.—*Origine Byzantine de la notation neumatique de l'Église latine.*
(Good illustrations.)

*Monuments de la Notation Ekphonétique et Hagiopolite de l'Église grecque . . . à la Bibliothèque Impériale de S. Pétersbourg.*
(Valuable reproductions and texts : contains a large amount of most important material.)

---

Facsimiles of Byzantine Musical MSS. will be found among the Plates in the following Russian publications :—

(1) *Exempla Codicum Graecorum ; volumen alterum : Codices Petropolitani :* ed. Georgius Cereteli et Sergius Sobolevski. Mosquae MDCCCCXIII.

(2) Benesevic. *Monumenta Sinaitica.*
(These contain some of the clearest reproductions of musical MSS. yet made.)

I add a list of my published articles on Byzantine Music :—

*Musical Antiquary,* 1911, Greek Church Music. *ibid.,* 1913, Studies in Byzantine Music.—*Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* XX, p. 420. A musical Study of the Hymns of Casia.—*Zeitschr. d. internat. Musikgesellschaft,* 1913, p. 32, Zur Entzifferung der byz. Neumen.—*American Journal of Archæology,* 1916, Problem of Byz. Neumes.—*Journal of Hellenic Studies,* vol. XXVII, p. 160, Instrumental Music in the Roman Age ; *ibid.* vol. XLI, p. 29, Problem of Byzantine Neumes.—*Annual of the British School at Athens,* No. XVIII, Acclamation of Emperors in Byz. Ritual. No. XIX, Fragment of Byz. musical Handbook . . . on Mt. Athos. No. XXI, p. 125, Rhythm in Byz. Music. No. XXII, p. 133, Modes in Byz. Music. No. XXIII, p. 195, Some Byz. musical MSS. at Cambridge. *Laudate,* June, 1923, The Canon for Easter w. music fr. a Byz. Hirmologus. *Music and Letters,* No. III, Byzantine Music.

CHAPTER I

# Christian Classical Poetry

The earliest Christian literature met the needs of the Church in the defence of the Faith, the instruction of the flock, and the service of praise. But when the persecutions were ended, and Christianity began to absorb the culture of the old world, the literary forms prevailing under the Roman Empire were adapted to the spirit and demands of the new religion. In Greek poetry, the epigram, epic and Anacreontic lyric were the most favoured kinds during the later classical age; and attempts were made to use all three for Christian subjects.

**Synesius** of Cyrene* (born c. 375, ob. 430), the " squire-bishop " of Kingsley's "Hypatia"—warrior, statesman, philosopher, prelate, a husband and father, mystic and poet—might rival Tolstoi in the vigour and contradictoriness of his many-sided genius. In youth a pagan, his orthodoxy was never above suspicion; but the subtleties of Neo-Platonism passed easily into a vague monotheism broad enough to embrace the chief dogmas of Christianity.

Of his ten extant odes, only half (according to current views) are explicitly Christian. In No. V. he praises Christ as Fount of Light; in VII. he claims to be the first Christian minstrel, and proceeds to sing of the Birth of Christ and the visit of the Wise Men. Ode VIII. contains a thanksgiving to Christ for recovery from sickness, and prayers for Synesius' wife and family. Ode IX. celebrates Christ's victory over the powers of darkness, while X. is a short petition for health and immortality. The remaining poems were probably written before Synesius' conversion. In Ode I. he calls upon his lute to harp no more on the pleasures of love, or worldly ambition and wealth, his desire being now for a life of quiet contemplation and union with the Deity. The same mystical strain is heard in the second poem, in praise of God as Father of all.

* Cf. Vellay. "Études sur les hymnes de Synésius de Cyrène."

In Odes III., IV., and V. reference is made to the Logos or Wisdom proceeding from the Father by means of Counsel or Travail. Here, too, there is an obvious approach to the doctrine of the Trinity. Echoes from Synesius' restless life are not absent. He tells in Ode III. how he went on a mission to Constantinople on behalf of his native land, and paid suppliant vows in all the "temples," though whether these were pagan shrines or Christian churches is uncertain.

" And hither southward now,
That I might pay this vow . . .
I came from northern Thrace,
Where three years' dreary space
Near the Imperial Court I did abide,
In toil and anguish sore,
For on my shoulders I my mother country bore . . . .

. . . . Then to and fro,
To every shrine a suppliant I made haste to go.
To all in turn I bring
Prayer, chaplet, offering,
And water with my tears each sacred floor,
That I might not with pain
Have journey made in vain."

(Lines 428—458, abridged.)

(*Trans.*, A. W. Chatfield.)

The Anacreontic metres, with their uniform short lines, had hitherto been confined to light songs of love and revelry; and it is a proof of their popularity that they were employed for serious subjects by the early Christian poets. Much of Synesius' work is versified theology ; but he is always sincere, lofty and ardent. With full command of the classical metres and a remarkable range of expression, he can rise above technical perfection to the higher realms of the imagination, and his mystical rapture inspires a true poetic art.

Another star of the Alexandrian school who began his career as a pagan, was the epic writer, **Nonnus**, of Panopolis. But his conversion came in old age, when his life-work—a poem in twenty-four books on the legends of Dionysus—was completed. His zeal for the new faith was shown by the versification of Saint John's Gospel in hexameters. This production is no longer extant; nor did the attempt to use Homeric epic for Christian subjects find imitators.

**Gregory Nazianzen** (Bishop of Nazianza, in Asia Minor, ob. 389), was not only a notable divine, but also a hymnwright whose works were admired and read throughout the Byzantine age. He was born of Christian parents and, though versed in ancient lore, never swerved from the orthodox faith. His hymns, written in old age, are really poems on religious subjects, and were not, in the main, intended for musical performance. Most of them are in non-lyrical metres, such as the hexameter and iambic trimeter. Gregory's style is polished and learned. His earnestness is everywhere apparent, but he has none of the fantastic brilliance of Synesius. The occasional use of Anacreontic metres by Gregory is another proof of their popularity at that date. In these poems his diction is simpler and approximates to common speech by respecting the stress-accent, without, however, neglecting the ancient laws of quantity. Eight of his hymns are printed in the "Anthologia Carminum Christianorum."* The first and second are mainly dogmatic in character; the third, an elegiac ode for Easter, contains the praises of Christ. Hymn IV., "To his own soul," is a striking contrast to the first ode of Synesius. Both extol the contemplative life, but where Synesius is fain to "learn of the grasshopper" a lesson of simple trustfulness, Gregory, with the systematic rigour of an ascetic, denounces in order the snares of wealth, ambition, love, war, athletic and oratorical success, the flights of fancy, and the pleasures of the table. His rule of life follows—a cloak of camel's hair, a bed of leaves, a meal of pulse and water (with a dash of vinegar, as a treat), and, for occupation, the study of the mystery of the Cross. The evening hymn, No. VIII., shows the quiet dignity to which Gregory could sometimes rise.

The last poem, "To a Virgin," is thoroughly monastic in tone. Marriage is only tolerated as a sop to human weakness, a life of self-denial being the true way of holiness.

**Methodius** (martyred 312) introduces a poem at the end of his "Symposium," or Dialogue on Holiness. In this conversation, ten virgins are supposed to take part; and one of them, Thecla by name, sings the main portion of the concluding hymn, the others joining in the refrain. It is known from other sources that the congregation in Church at that epoch had a similar share in the hymn-singing.

The initial letters of the verses of Methodius' poem form an alphabetical acrostic. This practice, which may have been borrowed from the 119th Psalm, recurs often in Byzantine literature. The hymn is based upon the parable of the Ten Virgins, who are here shown as going with lighted lamps to meet the Bride-

* W. Christ and Paranikas: "Anthologia graeca carminum Christianorum."

groom. The praises of Christ and of the virgin state, with a forecast of heavenly bliss, form the first part of the poem. Reference is then made to some heroes and heroines of the Jewish dispensation,—Abel, Joseph, Jephthah's daughter, Judith and Susanna being chosen as types of Christian virtue.

" A lamb for sacrifice is sought;
A lamb-like victim Jephthah brought;
For rash-made vow he cared,
Nor virgin daughter spared:
A type, O Blessed One, of Thy humanity,
She poured her soul to Thee.
*Refrain*—With holy feet, and lamps bright burning,
I go to meet my Lord returning."

We see here another link between Methodius and the later Byzantine hymnodists: the free use of Old Testament material and typology. The adornment of lyrical poems with narrative was a successful device of Pindar in antiquity, and of Prudentius in the Latin Church. But in Byzantine theology the study of type and anti-type was so important that its application to sacred poetry tended to excess, though Methodius himself has not transgressed due bounds. After a brief mention of John the Baptist and praise of the Church as Heavenly Bride, the poem ends with a prayer that all the virgins may be admitted to the joys of their Lord.

" Thou, now to heavenly places raised,
By all the virgin choir art praised,
O bride of Heavenly King:
A song all new we sing,
With lighted torch in hand, with snow-white lilies crowned,
Thy praise in Christ we sound.
With holy feet, etc.
" Father of heaven, supreme in might,
Dwelling in pure eternal light
With Thine own Son most dear,
Admit—for we are here—
E'en us within the gates of life, to sing Thy Love
In Thy blest courts above."

(*Trans.*, A. W. Chatfield.)

It must finally be noted that Methodius pays scant regard to the laws of quantity, and marks an advance towards the accentual system of versification.

**Clement,** of Alexandria (170-220), is the reputed author of a short hymn* on Christian education, which appears in the manuscript at the end of his treatise on that subject. The poet invokes the aid of Christ as the true guardian of youth.

Yet another specimen of Christian didactic poetry is supplied by a fragment of papyrus in the Amherst Collection,† probably of the early fourth century. Here, too, the laws of quantity are only partially kept; the lines have an equal number of syllables and a fixed penultimate accent. The poem is of small literary merit.

*Christian Epigrams.*

Of all branches of classical literature the epigram was the most successfully cultivated in the later Roman and Byzantine ages. Most epigrams, indeed, were written by men of letters in imitation of ancient models, and hence escaped the influence of Christianity. But the use of such a form for religious subjects was easy and obvious; and many Christian epigrams have survived in the " Anthologia Palatina " (see especially Books I., VIII., and XV.). Some are inscriptions for buildings, sacred pictures, or graves; others deal with theological subjects, including Old Testament types. Claudian (ob. A.D. 408), the Roman poet, is among the authors, if we assume the genuineness of the Greek epigrams ascribed to him. A few short specimens may be quoted. (All from Book I.)

33. Nilus Scholasticus. On a picture of the Archangel.

" How bold to give shape to the incorporeal ! Yet even an image bringeth back the heart to lively memory of heavenly things."

40. Anon. On the Birth of Christ.

" The manger is heaven and hath become greater than heaven, since He that was received therein is Lord of the heavenly beings."

53. For Easter.

" Christ made an end of the Law's Paschal lamb and provided an immortal offering —Himself the Priest, Himself the sacrifice."

* This hymn has also been translated by the Rev. A. W. Chatfield. Op. cit. 155.
† Grenfell and Hunt: " Amherst Papyri," I., 23.

60. On the Defeat of Amalek.

"Why dost thou, Moses, stretch forth thy hands in the sign of a cross? By this type both the one Amalek and the other are destroyed.
(i.e. Human and spiritual foes.)

79. On Saint Paul.

"When Paul had seen the divine ray of heaven face to face, he filled the whole world with infinite light."

*Later Christian Poetry in Lyrical Metres.*

The use of the Anacreontic metres continued far down the ages. They were employed for narrative and reflective poems at a time when new forms had been invented for the service of the Church. Hence, in most cases, there is nothing lyrical about the Byzantine Anacreontics except the metre, and their authors often resorted to other forms when actually writing for music.

**Sophronius** (Bishop of Jerusalem, 629) is represented in the "Anthologia Carminum Christianorum" by three acrostic poems.* The first praises Saint Paul, the second deals with the martyrdom of Thecla, while the third, entitled "On the Longing that he had for the Holy City and its Hallowed Places," is a *locus classicus* for the topography and monuments of Jerusalem. Sophronius writes in a pleasant straightforward style, without much imagination. Besides these pieces, which are destined mainly for the reading public, he was the author of a few short hymns for the service of the Church. Here Sophronius does not rise above the ordinary level of Byzantine hymnographers.

**Elias Syncellus** (date uncertain) is known for an evening hymn of penitence, which, unlike the lyric verses of Sophronius, was intended to be sung. The acrostic is applied to every line (not merely to the beginning of every stanza). Thus the first four lines begin with A, the next four with B, and so on. Such an artificial form left little scope for genuine poetry. Anacreontic verses by the Emperor Leo (886-917) and the Patriarch Photius (ob. 891) are included in the Anthologia Carminum Christianorum. In these the scansion is determined by the stress-accent. Both Emperor and Patriarch also wrote church hymns, some of which will be mentioned later.

Another well-known poem in Anacreontic metre is the penitential hymn "From defiled lips." It is doubtfully ascribed to Symeon (c. 1030 A.D.), a monk of S.

* P. 43 seqq. Although the scansion is by quantity, the influence of accent is plainly felt, as almost all his lines end with a paroxytone word.

Mamas at Constantinople.* The scansion was purely accentual. Unlike most Byzantine poets, the author is unconcerned with any ritual observance or event in sacred history, but deals with his own sins and hopes of forgiveness. A few lines may be quoted:—

"From defiled lips, from a wicked heart, from a tongue unclean, from a sin-stained soul, receive my prayer, O Christ! Rejecting not my words, nor my ways, nor my boldness, grant me, O Christ, to speak with confidence what I have desired. Or, rather do Thou teach me what I ought to do and say. (Lines 1-12.) . . . . I know, my Saviour, that no other hath sinned against Thee as I, nor done the deeds that I have done. But this also I know, that not the magnitude of the sin, nor the multitude of transgressions, surpasseth the great long-suffering of my God and His exceeding love for man. But with the oil of compassion Thou purifiest them that ardently repent, Thou glorifiest them and makest them partakers of the Light (99-112) . . . . Therefore, with thankful mind and thankful heart, with thankful songs of soul and body, I worship and magnify and extol Thee, my God, as being blessed both now and everlastingly" (129-136).

* The hymn is given in Donaldson, J.: "Lyra Graeca" (Edinb., 1854), p. 134. It is found in the Greek Church 'Horologium." For this book, v. note on p. 9 below. The ascription of the poem to S. John of Damascus seems impossible, as his writings in classical metres were all quantitative.

CHAPTER II

# Early Christian Hymnography: Romanus; Sergius

Byzantine hymnography, the largest section of mediæval Greek poetry, and the chief artistic contribution of the Byzantine Empire to the world's literature, owed little to classical models. The early Church found in the Psalms and Canticles a treasure of song ready to hand. These were current among the Jews in Greek versions long before the Christian era; so that even the work of translation was spared. The use of "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" is familiar in the New Testament; and it seems likely that the first two names refer to the Davidic psalter; while the third class includes the Hebrew canticles (such as the Song of the Three Children), and the hymns found in the New Testament itself (such as the "Magnificat" and "Nunc Dimittis"). The orthodox Church was not over-ready to let mere human productions creep in beside these inspired strains, and it is remarkable that the heretical sects, who hoped to attract men by the variety of their ritual, led the way in the composition of hymns. The Naassenes, the Gnostics, and the Arians had their own sacred poetry; and the danger of inculcating heterodoxy through the chant of singers led the Church to exclude from public worship many hymns that she already possessed. Such was the sweeping decree of the Council of Laodicea, canon LIX. (3rd century). Only a few venerable hymns, prayers and doxologies have come down to us from these early days of the Church, but it is possible that fragments of the disused hymns may have been remembered and embodied in later poems.

Some remains of the hymnody of the first Christian ages are given in the "Horologium." All are severely simple. The morning and evening hymns consist largely of quotations from the Psalms, with petitions to Christ interwoven. The

familiar " Hail, gladdening Light " belongs here, and a grace before meat concludes the collection.*

Thus, apart from psalms and canticles, the praise of the Church in the third and fourth centuries was mostly confined to a few hymns, doxologies and short responses. But after this date the danger of heresy was less acutely felt, and a fresh impetus was given to sacred poetry. In the great city churches, especially, the tendency was towards a more elaborate and artistic ritual, calculated to express men's religious emotions and to draw them away from profane amusements. This is shown by the story of Pambo, a hermit of the fifth century:—

The Abbot Pambo had sent his disciple to Alexandria to sell the work of his hands. The disciple spent sixteen days in the city and slept in the vestibule of S. Mark's. After seeing the ritual of the holy Church and learning some of the hymns, he returned to the Abbot. The old man said to him: " My son, I see that thou art troubled. Hath some temptation befallen thee in the city? " The monk replied: " Indeed, father, we waste our days in this wilderness, and sing neither canons nor hymns. For when I was away at Alexandria, I saw the order of the Church and heard the singing; and I am sorely grieved because we sing not canons and hymns." The Abbot answered: " Woe unto us, my son, for the days have come in which the monks shall leave the plain sustenance of the Holy Spirit and follow after words and tunes. What manner of contrition or tears cometh of hymns? What penitence shall a monk have if he stand in the Church or in his cell and lift up his voice like the ox? "

The reference to the canon is an anachronism, since this form was not invented until the seventh century, but the rest of the story shows clearly that hymns (called here troparia) were sung at Alexandria, and that the old-fashioned severity of the Abbot disapproved. Evidence is not lacking that the same process and the same ineffectual protest were repeated all over the Christian East.

The hymns here referred to were originally short verses introduced among the psalms and canticles, and written in the same form: that is, not in any ancient metre, but in free rhythm.‡ As the Eucharist ritual was already fixed, the morning and evening services gave the fullest scope for new compositions, especially when the increasing number of holy days and saints' days called for appropriate hymnody. The poets of this period are, with few exceptions, mere

* Versions of these will be found in A. W. Chatfield: Op. cit., p. 161 ff. For φῶς ἱλαρόν. Trans.: Keble, v. Hymns A. and M. 18. *cf.* Burkitt, F. C., " Christian Hymns," p. 7, in Proceeds of Soc. of Hist. Theology, 1908. The Horologium itself is described by Neale: " History of Holy East. Ch.," Pt. 1, 2, p. 848.

† This story is quoted in " Anthologia," introd. p. XXIX.

‡ The origin of the "rhythmic" style of hymnography is disputed. Sophron had written mimes in rhythmicali prose, but they are not likely to have been known among the early Christians. There can be no doubt that the Greek versions of the Hebrew Psalms and Canticles must have been familiar to the Church from the very outset; and nothing is more natural than their serving as models for Christian Hymns. (On the general subject see Krumbacher, K. *Byz. Lit.*, sect. 282, and other works mentioned in bibliography.) Some of the earliest Christian Hymns outside the N.T. are the Syriac " Odes of Solomon ": these are also in free rhythm based on O.T. models, but showing Greek influence (see J. Rendel Harris: " Odes and Psalms of Solomon," etc.).

names to us, and little of their work can be traced. Justinian, the Emperor, and Cyril, the fiery Bishop of Alexandria (d. 444), are included in the list. But it is likely that many of the anonymous short hymns, which under various names are still sung, and were used as models for later poems, go back to the fifth and sixth centuries. Most of these hymns are simple in thought and diction, have a strongly marked rhythm and structure, and make occasional use of rhyme and assonance. Rhyme never became a principle of versification in Greek hymnography, but it was employed from time to time as an ornament, especially to mark correspondence of ideas.

The most important hymnodist of this early period is **Saint Anatolius** (d. 458). Unfortunately, it is not easy to decide which of all the hymns going under the names of Anatolius were written by the Saint. The so-called " stichera Anatolica " are more probably ascribed to a later Anatolius, and so, too, are most of the hymns for Saints' days. That for St. Stephen,* translated by Neale, is quite in the conventional style of the eighth century. But the evening hymn, " The Day is Past and Over,"† seems nearer to the simplicity of earlier times; and it may, perhaps, be attributed to the Saint.

Hymnography made rapid strides in the sixth and seventh centuries. The bounds of a single verse were soon passed, and experiments were made in all kinds of extended forms. The simplest of these consisted of a series of verses written to the same tune as an existing hymn, and imitating its style. The principal Saints' days were provided with verses of this sort. The following is an ancient hymn on the Resurrection:—‡

> " The soldiers guarding Thy tomb, O Saviour, became as dead men when they saw in a lightning-flash the angel who proclaimed to the women Thy Resurrection. We glorify Thee, the vanquisher of death; we bow before Thee, risen from the dead, our God alone."

This has served as a model for two verses in the Octoechus, sung immediately after it, two for Palm Sunday, one for Wednesday in Holy Week, two for Good Friday, two for the Presentation in the Temple, and one each for Lady Day, S. George, and S. Nicholas.

A poet, who might not also be a musician, could thus readily devote his gifts to the service of the Church. In contrast to such imitated works, a hymn with its own melody and rhythm was called an " Idiomelon." Here lay the greatest scope

* V. " Anthologia," p. 117. Neale: "Hymns of East. Ch.," p. 8.
† Trans. Neale: " Hymns A. and M." 21.
‡ Text in " Anthologia," p. 54. A very beautiful Sicilian melody to this hymn in Gaisser " Rassegna Gregoriana." 1905. fasc. 9–10, p. 10.

for musical originality; and we find that the "Idiomela," with much monotony of text, show the utmost freedom and variety of rhythm, the inference being that the music was felt to be more important than the words. It was not likely that closely imitative verses or short rhythmical hymns would prove adequate for the expression of the highest poetical ideas. A new stage was reached when religious poetry shook off the bondage of an outworn classical tradition, and freed itself from mere subservience to Church ritual. This was the work of the greatest master of Byzantine chant, Saint Romanus.

**Romanus** was born at Emesa, in Syria, and came as a young monk to Constantinople in the reign of Anastasius I. (491-518).* The legend says that, as he sat in church one Christmas Eve, the Mother of God appeared to him in a vision and bade him sing her praises. Whereupon he stepped forward to the desk and began the ode, "This day the Virgin," the most famous Christmas hymn of the Eastern Church.

Romanus, we are told, composed more than a thousand odes—an exaggerated tradition of his fertile genius. Of all this wealth, only a few fragments are found in the Greek service-books; but considerable remains have been unearthed from various manuscripts, enough to show us the unique endowments and charm of the Prince of Hymnodists.

The construction of the odes is as follows: The first verse, or the first and second verses together, form a general Introduction. This is often done in a different metre from the remainder, but is linked to it by the refrain, which gives cohesion to the whole. The refrain at the end of every stanza is the first law of composition observed by Romanus. The others are: secondly, an acrostic embracing the first letter of every stanza, and conveying the name of the poet; thirdly, a general syllabic equality between corresponding lines in the several stanzas; fourthly, a similar incidence of the principal accent or accents in corresponding lines.† As to accent, Romanus seems to be satisfied if one strong position is upheld in a given line throughout all the stanzas. Greater similarity of accentuation in corresponding lines is often seen, but it is not insisted upon. The end of a stanza always marks a pause in the sense. But the intermediate pauses could be made after any line at the poet's will. The use or invention of such a scheme

* One long ode and a few short verses are printed in the "Anthologia." Krumbacher has edited four others with a useful introduction and commentary ("Studien zu Romanos," Munich, 1898). Twenty-nine odes are found only in Pitra's "Analecta Sacra." Krumbacher ("Byz. Lit.," Sec. 272) gives many excellent reasons for placing Romanus' date under Anastasius I. rather than Anastasius II. (713-716). Neale, "History of H. East. Ch.," Pt. 1., 2, p. 843, mentions Romanus, and relates the legend in course of a discussion on the word "Contacion," the usual appellation of Romanus' odes.

† The same principle is adopted by the Russian poet, Koltsov, in some of his poems, *e.g.*, the well-known "Urojai" (Harvest).

is a proof of the high poetical insight of Romanus. His verse is strict enough to meet the needs of the musical composer and singer, and yet it allows the happiest union of lyrical and narrative elements.

It is generally taken for granted that the odes of Romanus were actually sung at Divine Service. Some of them are described as αὐτόμελα, with tunes of their own, while others are written to existing melodies. Possibly Romanus in such cases used some well-known short hymn and made it the basis of a new poem. But the data in the MSS. on this point are untrustworthy, as sometimes an ode is said to be set to the tune of a hymn with which it has no metrical correspondence. We are further tempted to wonder whether the longer odes were really sung *in extenso*, or only, as at the present day, their preludes. But the common view seems to be justified, because, firstly, the services at that date, especially in monasteries, were of great length; and, secondly, the form of the odes is obviously lyrical, as the equality of lines and the coincidence of accents point to a musical setting.

In his use of dramatic effects Romanus is wonderful. Like Pindar, he never seems to fail in his grasp of a situation. He loves his characters, breathes their fervour of piety, exults in their triumphs, weeps with them in their misfortunes, and tenderly rebukes them in transgression. What poet has made a more vivid picture of the Holy Family at Bethlehem, with Mary in her mystic joy, and the Wise Men with their strange fateful sayings? The story of Joseph is like a series of romantic scenes—the treachery of the brethren, the terrible ordeal in the house of Potiphar, the recognition, with its tears of joy and pardon; the caravan headed by Jacob, grey-headed, but full of hope and courage, impatient to rejoin his beloved son. Then turn to the picture of Herod's birth-day feast; observe the craft of Herodias beside the bluff obtuseness of the king; her deliberate scheming to pervert her daughter; then the orgy of riot and jollity; the dance amid the secret sneers and outward applause of the guests; the final tragedy in the shame of Herod and the murder of the great Forerunner, whose very silence and absence from the drama make us feel his holiness in the midst of sinners.

The praise of the monastic life is a familiar topic in the middle ages, and Romanus has woven the maxims of the cloister into a very remarkable hymn for the burial-service of a monk, where he subtly suggests that the portal of the monastery is the gate of heaven, and that the humble novices who have renounced the world may be living on earth the life of angels. From these latter odes I will now give a few quotations.

## ODE FOR A DEAD BROTHER

1. How lovely are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts ! Therefore the inhabitants thereof shall praise Thee for ever, singing, chanting with the prophet David, Hallelujah !

2. I considered the pleasant things of this life, I reasoned upon that which cometh to pass ; and, seeing the bitterness of it, I accounted the life of men to be wretched. But you alone deemed I happy who have chosen the better part, to long for Christ and to abide with David, and with that prophet to sing sweetly " Hallelujah " !

3. Not one of all mankind have I found free from sorrow : for the world is full of change : whom yesterday I beheld exalted, to-day I see him fallen from on high : the rich man suddenly becometh poor, the hungry and needy groweth rich. But ye are far removed from such things ; for your souls are subject to the psalm of Hallelujah !

4. The rich man lordeth it over the poor and devoureth all his substance. The husbandman toileth, but his master liveth at ease. One laboureth and another is gladdened. The hungry man gathereth a livelihood in the sweat of his brow, laying up by toil what shall soon be scattered. But the work of your hands passeth not away, having the unchangeable seal of Hallelujah.

5. Hopes plague the unwedded : as for the wedded, they are wasted with care. Grief filleth the childless, but tribulation wearieth the parents of many. Wedlock is affliction to some, while others lament that they are barren. But ye have laughter unstinted thereat, for your joy is immutable, even your Hallelujah !

8. In wonder do I behold this sight : my friend of yesterday is dead : the voice which spake is struck dumb, the seeing eye is darkened, and all the daughters of music are brought low. For God hath made an end of these men, as the Scripture saith ; they should return no more upon earth. Wherefore let us sing tunefully unto God, Hallelujah !

13. Gloriously ye fled from the defilement of life, and ran to the pure fountain, emulating the life of the angels : make no provision for the flesh, love not that ye have forsaken : build not again upon that which ye destroyed, lest ye become a laughing-stock to the foe. But steadfast in vigil, raise the strain of Hallelujah !

14. Since ye have rightly fled from the world, hate henceforth even the memory of worldly things. Choose once for all a life of peace without strife, even as the angels, preferring one another in honour, nor saying : This is mine : or that. For a holy brother hath nothing of his own, but we all have one common supplication, Hallelujah !

15. Let not emulation be among you. For what hast thou, saith the Scripture, that thou receivedst not of God ? He that fasteth let him not judge him that eateth : and let him who eateth honour him that fasteth. For one eateth by reason of his infirmity, but the other by self-denial useth abstinence. One toileth and is sick at heart, another singeth and is fain : yet for both is one reward—Hallelujah !

16. But one will say, " I know the Scriptures, and therefore have the greater cause to boast." What then did Peter, the fisherman, learn ? Even that he was placed before Moses. The prophet learnt, as best he could, all the wisdom of the Egyptians. But when Peter speaketh, let Moses be silent. Therefore let not the ignorant be abhorred of him who knoweth well how to sing Hallelujah !

17. Bound fast by Faith let us nerve ourselves, all who have commanded the body to be in subjection. Our enemies sleep not. Let us arm therefore that they may flee. What are the arms of a holy man? Even meek obedience to his superior, to love God, to be kindly affectioned unto the brethren, and to be zealous in the Lord's good time. Hallelujah!

19. Often the enemy entereth into a toil-worn brother and saith: "Why labourest thou in vain? Behold another without toil surpasseth thee; thou art but a broom in men's hands." And the other in his simplicity believeth him and forsaketh the means of his sanctification. Leaving toil he practiseth idle conversation. But let us have no conversation, save only the hymn of Hallelujah!

21. If at any time thy spirit offend thee and tempt thee to go forth and say, "Why art thou confined here? Behold how many have been sanctified in the world without!" answer thou straightway that which thou hast learnt, saying: "I saw all the strife that there is in cities and much iniquity." Wherefore remain ever singing to God, Hallelujah!

22. Again the tempter saith: "Thou canst not keep the monastic rule. For the yoke is heavy and ill to bear, and he that beareth it not, is unprofitable." Thou shalt straightway answer the cunning one: "The rule demandeth nothing beyond my strength; for if I fail in one thing, I hold fast to another. Even if I be not able to toil, yet I meditate upon the strains of Hallelujah!"

25. Stand therefore, strengthened in the Faith, bowing your heads to earth, but with your souls looking upward unto Christ. Care not at all for the things of earth, expectant and eager that, after departure from this life, ye may dwell in the mansions of the Saints, and sing there as here—Hallelujah!

26. The time of your joy is come. For the Lord swiftly draweth nigh: the bride-chamber awaiteth the bridegroom. Let your lighted torches blaze, seeing that ye are like the wise virgins. For virginity is holiness of soul, whereby ye are enabled to see the glory of Christ, as his torch-bearers, shouting ever Hallelujah!

27. Now ye have been taught of me, who one day shall judge me by right. Wherefore beseech ye the Lord, that I may find forgiveness with you all, and may myself also share in the joy everlasting. For ye are as a sweet savour unto God, and I pray that I may for ever sing with you Hallelujah!

30. Thou therefore, O Lord, by Thine almighty power, guide this life of ours, and keep the sheep with the shepherd,* and by his prayers strengthen me. Grant unto us for many years to celebrate the memory of our shepherd. Pour out Thy mercies upon us now, that we may sweetly sing and ever cry, Hallelujah!

## DEATH OF S. JOHN THE BAPTIST

1. To thee, O Forerunner, belongeth due praise, because thou hast died for the sake of everlasting life, as despising the things of time.

2. The famous beheading of the Forerunner hath been in some sort a dispensation from God, that, even to those in Hades, he might preach the coming of salvation.

* Romanus refers to the Abbot, whose gentleness and discretion he praises in some stanzas here omitted.

Let Herodias mourn, who demanded a wicked murder. For she loved not God's eternity, but the false things of time.

3. Herod's birthday feast appeared unholy in the sight of all when, in the midst of the feasters, the head of him that fasted was set on a dish. Grief was added unto joy and bitter wailing was mingled with laughter, what time the charger bearing the Baptist's head was brought into the presence of all, as the maiden commanded. And on account of her dance lamentation fell on all that had feasted with the king, seeing that the thing delighted them not, nor yet Herod himself. For the scripture saith, " He grieved with no true grief, but feignedly, for a time."

4. For Herod was not steadfast nor persistent in sorrow, but, as if with malice aforethought, straightway did the godless deed to gratify her whom he seduced. For it was the adulteress, not the damsel, that sought to slay the son of the barren woman.

(Here follows a conversation between Herodias and Salome: the latter protests, but is at last silenced.)

11 . . . She dinned into the ears of her husband, saying " O husband, make us now a merry feast for thy birthday. Let us take delight in our old age, seeing that thy brother robbed us of our youth and deprived me in sorry wise of life that is but for a time."

12. Herod then was cajoled by the words of the temptress, and laughingly he shouted: as a fool he lifted up his voice in the midst of laughter. " Consort mine," he cried, " herein too have I pleasure in thy love, woman. If now I keep my birthday, what gift wilt thou bring worthy of me? " " What shall I bring? Myself as thy slave; nay, more, I will set beside thee my daughter the dancer, who ever delighteth thee. Truly I will gladden thy birthday, which thou wilt celebrate, O King, for the joy that is for a time."

14. Herod therefore, forgetting all else, tasted of the good things that he possessed, and as the evening of the birthday came, as it is written, whereon he made a feast for his nobles and his friends, his captains and his councillors together: when the banquet was spread in joy and all the guests feasted to the delight of their soul, then on a sudden the table turned into a snare and their food became an offence unto them. For with full knowledge, they failed to break the snare set privily for the Baptist, and they endured the sight of it for the sake of pleasure for a time.

15. Now the crafty Herodias, when she saw them all drunken and had found the occasion or which she sought, said in her heart: " Behold the hour that I have pursued! There is none to hinder, for I see not one sober within. Come, child, I will send thee in as a fair gift to-day. Herod is our slave. Go in, my daughter, delight the king and all his friends by thy dancing! Turn the heart of the worshipful one unto us like a crooked bow, and straightway we shall gain honour for ever, not for a time! "

16. By these words sin perverted the maiden, and, adorned for a shameless deed, she put on dishonour like a garment. Now Herod's friends praised exceedingly the beauty of the damsel, but, considering the perverse mind of her mother and her ornaments displayed, they said in secret: " See the design of Herodias the adulteress. How dareth she to make a show even of her own daughter! Did not her own disgrace suffice, but she must dishonour her offspring in our presence, for the delight that is for a time!

17. Unfailing is the word of wisdom.* " The children of adulterers are untimely, and the fruit of an adulterous bed shall be utterly destroyed." Even as that maiden, who had delight for

* Sap. III., 16.

an hour, presently cometh to a more evil state." Now when the guests had spoken this in secret, an evil deed followed their words. For the maid danced in the midst of the feasters and filled their mouths with shouting. "King Herod," they cried, "how graceful is this dancer! Indeed, her steps are full of life, nor are such seen at any time!"

18. The king was overcome by the plaudits of those who praised his daughter, and sware then and there before them all. "Whatsoever thou ask of me I will give thee, for the sake of this dance." Then the maiden went out and said to her mother, "What shall I ask?" "Ask, daughter, for the head of John the Baptist, for this I desire above all." "Alas, mother! would that my feet had been cut off, that I had never run to thee to learn of thee. Would that I were struck dumb, and had never asked thee what I ought not! Would I had kept silence for ever, not merely for a time!"

CONCLUSION

Son of a true priest, child of a prophetess who was barren, nurseling of the desert, John: we have remembered thy fasting; give us strength that we may fast. Let us become followers of thee, as each is able, that our bodies may not rule over us, but we ever have them in subjection, even as Paul saith: "Meats for the belly and the belly for meats."* We are Christ's, who fasted of His own will, and hath taken from us the hunger of Adam of old, for the sake of joy for a time.

**Sergius.**—Next to the odes of Romanus, the chief poem that has come down from this age is the *Acathistus Hymnus* of Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople in the reign of Heraclius (610-641). The Persian invasion under Chosroes had threatened the Roman dominion with utter destruction. Heraclius rallied the last army of the Empire and won a great victory, which was ascribed to the intervention of the Virgin Mary. In thanksgiving to her, the patriarch composed an elaborate ode, called "Acathistus," because the choir sang "without sitting down" at a great night-long service of praise. The ode runs to 294 lines, and consists of a prelude and twelve stanzas. Each of these contains two narrative sections, separated by Salutations to the Virgin, and ends with a Hallelujah. The Gospel account of the Annunciation has been worked up by many Byzantine writers in various forms, but nowhere perhaps more worthily than in the "Acathistus." Sergius' diction is rich and glowing. He uses rhyme freely; and the whole ode, though rather stilted in some passages, is a grand example of sustained dignity and eloquence. It remains as one of the most impressive portions of the Orthodox ritual, and is sung on Saturday evening before the fifth Sunday in Lent. Two sections may be quoted:—

To the victorous leader the praise of victory;
To Thee, Mother of God, do I, Thy City, ascribe the meed of thanksgiving.
For Thou hast unassailable might, which shall deliver me from all manner of danger,
That I may cry unto Thee: Hail, Bride unwedded!

* 1 Cor. vi., 13.

† For fuller account v. de Meester, "l'inno acatisto," Rome, 1905. There is some doubt about the exact occasion of the composition of the hymn. See also Birkbeck, W. J., and Woodward, G. R., "Acathist Hymn of the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church" (with verse translation). (Longmans, Green & Co.)

The foremost of the angels was sent from Heaven
To say unto the Mother of God, " Hail ! " :
And in contemplation of Thine Incarnation, O Lord, he was amazed and stood,
And with his angelic voice spake unto her thus :
" Hail, Thou through whom all gladness shineth :
Hail, Thou through whom the curse declineth :
Hail, of fallen Adam the restoration :
Hail, of Eve's tears the reparation :
Hail, Mount unscaled by mind of mortal man :
Hail, depth too deep for angel eyes to scan :
Hail, because Thou art the Royal Throne :
Hail, because Thou bearest the Upbearer of all :
Hail, Star foreshowing the Sun :
Hail, womb of Heavenly birth :
Hail, Thou through whom Creation is made new :
Hail, Thou through whom the Creator becometh a babe :
Hail, Bride unwedded ! "

Seeing Her own purity the Holy One replied joyfully unto Gabriel :
" The strangeness of thy speech
Is hard for my heart to receive ;
For of birth without mortal begetting,
How can'st thou tell, and criest " Hail ! "
The Maiden, seeking to know unknowable knowledge,
Exclaimed unto God's messenger :
" How from a Virgin womb can a son be born, I pray ? "
To whom Gabriel in fear replied, yet cried the while :
" Hail, mystery of design unsearchable :
Hail, trust-holder of things ineffable :
Hail, foretaste of Christ's miracles :
Hail, crown of Christ's parables :
Hail, heavenly Ladder whereby God descendeth :
Hail, Bridge whereby man to heaven wendeth :
Hail, oft-praised theme of angelic exultation :
Hail, sore-lamented cause of demons' deploration :
Hail, mystic Mother—source of light revealed :
Hail, Thou whose heart the way of grace concealed :
Hail, Thou who obscurest the wisdom of the wise ;
Hail, Thou who enlightenest the hearts of the good :
Hail, Bride unwedded ! "

* * * * * * *

The might of the Highest then overshadowed the unwedded One unto her conception,
And the fruitfulness of her womb is as the fruitfulness of the field :
Where they that will may reap salvation and cry withal :
" Hail, Bride unwedded ! "

MAGDALEN COLLEGE LIBRARY

A shadowy figure among the hymnographers of the seventh century is **Anastasius**, better known for his writings on ecclesiastical law. Of the poetry ascribed to him, the ode with a recurring Hallelujah reminds us of Romanus; the "canon" (a form that we shall describe in the next chapter) is, if genuine, a very early example.*

There is every reason for reckoning the time of Romanus and Sergius as the golden age of Greek hymnography. But the outbreak of the Iconoclastic controversy, which rent the East into bitterly hostile factions, seems to have cut short the activity of this school of poets, and buried most of their work in oblivion. After the final triumph of orthodoxy, we find that a general re-arrangement of the ritual has taken place, and new hymns, in hitherto untried forms, have ousted the rhythmical odes of the 6th and 5th centuries. This reconstruction was wrought by three venerable men, whose life and writings we shall now consider.

* For Anastasius' Works see Pitra, "Juris eccl. Graec. hist et monum." Vol. II. 281.

CHAPTER III

# The Canon, and its Exponents: Saint Andrew of Crete; Saint John of Damascus; Saint Cosmas

**Andrew** was born at Damascus and became scribe under the patriarch of Jerusalem in the 7th century. Owing to his learning and piety he finally became bishop of Crete towards the end of the century, and was made a saint after his death. His main work in poetry was the invention of the *Canon*, a species of hymn which has dominated Greek ritual from his time onwards. A *Canon* theoretically consists of nine odes,* based upon the nine chief canticles (eight from the Old Testament, and the Magnificat), which were, as we should say, regarded as canonical. Each ode has two or more verses in the same metre, the first verse being called the *Hirmus*, and setting the type for the others. As each ode corresponded to one of the canticles, it was expected to contain some allusion to the same subject, or, at any rate, a reminiscence of its style. Further, a special verse in honour of the Virgin Mary might form the conclusion of every ode. The nine canonical canticles were the following:—(1) Miriam's Song (Ex. xv.); (2) Moses' Exhortation (Deut. xxxii.); (3) Hannah (Sam. ii.); (4) Habakkuk (Hab. iii.); (5) Isaiah (Is. xxvi.); (6) Jonah (J. iii.); (7) Daniel; (8) Song of the Three Children (Dan. iii); (9) Magnificat.

USE OF THE CANON IN THE BYZANTINE CHURCH SERVICES

(1) In the Mesonyction of Sunday a " triadic " canon.†

(2) At Lauds both on week-days and Sundays.‡

Two canons from the Paracletice§ and the canon or canons for the day (from the Menæum, Triodium, or Pentecostarium, as the case may be).¶

* Cf. Neale, Hist., etc., Pt. 1, 2, p. 832.
† See Neale, Ibid., p. 914.
§ For this book see below, p. 21.
‡ Ibid., p. 921.
¶ For these books see Neale, ibid., pp. 857, 877.

The canons are not sung straight through. Between the odes a verse, or two verses, in honour of the Virgin Mary, are generally inserted. If the words of the canon were set to the tune of some other canon, the hirmus of the corresponding ode of the latter might be used as a Catavasia (verse sung by both choirs together in the body of the Church*) after any ode. A longer verse, called Cathisma, could also be interpolated, during which the congregation sat down. Immediately before the seventh ode the Synaxaria (Life of the Saints, or other instruction for the day) will be read; and the commemoration of other Saints of the day (who are mentioned, but not celebrated) will take place. The short hymn called Contacion† may be inserted between the odes.‡ It is followed by the Oicos, a somewhat longer hymn, whose name ("house") possibly suggested "a building reared to the honour of the Saint whom it commemorates." (So Neale.) This often contained salutations to the Saint, beginning with "Hail!" Its usual place is just before the Synaxaria.

Except in Lent the second ode was not used, so that the majority of canons never had it. The inelastic nature of the canon is too obvious to need proof; the obligation of making the same allusions over and over again was fatal to poetic freedom and originality. But the earliest writers in this form reach a certain dignity and breadth of effect in spite of their over-elaboration. The greatest master of the canon was the celebrated theologian and philosopher **Saint John of Damascus.**§

The life of this man is bound up with that of **Cosmas,** his fellow-worker and brother-poet. John's father, a noble citizen of Damascus, had ransomed from Arabian captors a learned teacher, also named Cosmas, and had adopted Cosmas the younger. The teacher was a native of Sicily, but it is uncertain whether he was father or even kinsman of the younger Cosmas, or whether the similarity of name was a coincidence. Be this as it may, the two boys, John and Cosmas, were brought up together, and came to Jerusalem to complete their studies. Both entered the monastery of Saint Sabas,¶ by the Dead Sea. John spent the rest of his life in this retreat, but his fame spread throughout the Empire, and, by the power of his writings, he became the greatest champion of the Holy Images against the iconoclastic emperors, Leo the Isaurian (717-741) and Constantine Copronymus (741-755). He died full of years, and was duly canonised. Cosmas, after sharing the seclusion and imitating the diligence of his brother, was raised in 743 to the bishopric of Maiuma in Syria. John of Damascus, by the variety of his learning and talents, was not only the greatest Byzantine schoolman, but also the most celebrated poet of the Eastern Church, where he holds the same place as Thomas Aquinas in the West. In divinity, science, and philosophy, John was an indefatigable writer. His poetical fame, like that of Cosmas, was boundless. From

* Ibid., p. 845. † See above, p. 11. ‡ Neale, ibid., p. 843.
§ For full account v. Lupton, J. H., "Saint John of Damascus." ¶ Also spelt Sabbas or Savvas.

likeness of style and spirit, the two saints are usually praised in the same terms. Thus Suidas, the lexicographer, says, "John of Damascus, surnamed 'Mansur,' was a most eminent man, and second to none among distinguished scholars. His writings are numerous, mostly philosophical, besides select Scripture parallels and musical canons, both iambic and in free rhythm. His contemporary, Cosmas of Jerusalem, was likewise a man of genius, exhaling the harmony of music. The musical canons of John and Cosmas certainly defy all comparison, and will continue to do so as long as mankind exists."

John's work in sacred poetry was partly creative, partly editorial. He drew up the liturgical book called "Octoechus," in which the ferial service is arranged for eight Sundays in rotation, according to the eight modes of mediæval Greek music. This service consists mainly of antiphons,* made up of paraphrases from the psalms, with short intervening hymns, and of canons. Tradition declares that the whole was actually written and composed by Saint John himself, but probably most of the short hymns were earlier, and he merely selected and arranged them, adding the canons from his own pen. Later, the Octoechus was enlarged by the inclusion of services for every day in the eight weeks, and is now called the Paracletice.† Secondly, John composed canons for the principal Holy Days, namely, Christmas, Easter, Low Sunday, Ascension, Whitsunday and Assumption. Thirdly, he wrote a number of shorter hymns, or Idiomela, for various days. Many of the hymns ascribed to him, as well as a number of inferior canons vaguely headed " John, the Monk," are, however, undoubtedly of later origin.

Cosmas, supplementing the work of Saint John, composed canons for the Elevation of the Cross, Presentation, Transfiguration, Palm Sunday, and many others. He also used a shortened form of canon called " Triodium," based on three canticles, instead of eight or nine. These productions, with the canons already composed by Saint Andrew of Crete, formed the most important musical portion of the new service books, and superseded nearly all the longer hymns of earlier date.

In estimating the work of these authors, we must note, in the first place, that Jerusalem, the centre of their activities, was not, like Constantinople, the stronghold of a living Greek culture. The Saracen conquests had already destroyed the Hellenism of Egypt and the remoter Orient. Syria and Palestine had a mixed population, in which the Greek element was weak. It is, therefore, not surprising

* See Neale, " Hist. of H. Eastern Ch.," Pt. 1, 2, p. 919.

† It also contains the " Stichera Anastasima " ; verses on the Resurrection ascribed to Anatolius, cf. p. 18, 55. The way in which the Stichera of the day of the week (as given in the Paracletice) are interspersed with those of the Saint (from the Menæum) is too complicated to be dealt with here. Further information in Neale, " Hist., etc.," Pt. 1, 2, 887 ff., 903, 918, etc. Specially noteworthy are the Anabathmi, used on Sundays at Lauds (Neale, ibid., 919, 920), consisting of a kind of cento from the " gradual " psalms arranged in Antiphons. Neale quotes an example. Another in " Anthologia." The elaboration of rubrics will be seen from the extract from the Typica given by Neale, ibid., 922-3

that Greek hymnwrights made scarcely any appeal to the general public. They wrote as monks for monks, and as scholars for students. Furthermore, the spoken Greek of the day was drifting further away from the literary language. The liturgy was ill-understood by the common folk, and became the business of professional theologians. Outward acts of ritual, the splendour of the Church buildings, images and vestments, the art of trained choirs and singers, were enough to stir the devotion of the faithful. Hence we find no hymnodist after Romanus writing a simple Greek, to instruct and touch the people; but nearly all seek obscurity of allusion and stiff unnaturalness of style.

Saint Andrew of Crete is supposed to have written nineteen canons, of which the Great Canon, sung in Lent,* is the most famous. It consists of three sections, each complete with nine odes. A single section, printed in the "Anthologia" extends to 336 lines. A strain of sincere penitence runs through the poem, but the many scriptural references soon weary the reader, and fail to relieve the general monotony. I quote the eighth ode, where the reference to the corresponding canticle (Song of the Three Children) happens to be rather perfunctory.

"Him, whom the legions of Heaven glorify, before whom Cherubim and Seraphim quake, let all life and creation praise, bless, and magnify for ever.

"I have sinned, Saviour, have mercy upon me; raise my heart to return unto Thee, receive me penitent, pity me when I cry: I have sinned against Thee, save me: I have transgressed, have mercy upon me.

"The charioteer Elijah, by his merits, mounted of yore upon the car and was borne up to heaven, far above earthly things. Do thou, my soul, imitate his ascent.

"Elishah of old, receiving the mantle of Elijah, gained a double grace from the Lord. But thou, my soul, hast no share in this grace for thine intemperance.

"The Shunammite in bygone days welcomed the righteous one with good intent, O my soul. But thou hast not received stranger nor wayfarer. Therefore in lamentation thou wilt be cast out from the bridegroom's feast.

"My wretched soul, thou hast imitated at all times the disposition of Gehazi. Put off such greed, even in old age renounce thy sins and flee from the fire of Gehennah.

"Father, who art from everlasting with the Son, Blessed Comforter, Spirit Divine, Begotten of the Word of God, Word of the eternal Father, Spirit living and creating, Trinity in Unity, have mercy upon me."

Cosmas was deeply versed in biblical lore, and his canons are full of abstruse typology. This quality endeared them to Byzantine scholars, but has the opposite effect on a modern reader, who expects warmth of feeling and imagination in sacred

* After Lauds on Thursday of Passion Week. Neale, op. cit., 876, translates part.

poetry. The tortuous diction of Cosmas is a fit vehicle for his dogmatic subtleties. I quote one of his Triodia, which has only the third, eighth and ninth odes, and contains more narrative than Cosmas usually allows himself.

Triodium for Wednesday in Holy Week ("Anthologia," p. 189):—

"Ode III. Establishing me on the rock of faith, Thou hast enlarged my mouth against my enemies, and my spirit rejoiceth in singing: there is none holy like unto our God. There is none righteous save Thee, O Lord.

"The council of the lawless is gathered together in vanity and evil devising, in order to make Thee, the Redeemer, appear as condemned, O Christ, to whom we cry, 'Thou art our God. There is none righteous save Thee, O Lord.'

"The dread conclave of the lawless being of a spirit that striveth against God, considereth now to slay as worthless the good Christ, to whom we cry, 'Thou art our God. There is none righteous save Thee, O Lord!'

"Ode VIII. When the tyrant's word prevailed, the furnace was heated sevenfold of yore. Wherein the youths were not burned, having trampled on the king's decree, but they cried: 'All ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord!' etc.

"The woman emptied the precious myrrh on Thy divine head, royal and dread, O Christ. Then with her sin-stained hands she touched Thy stainless feet, and cried: 'All ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord!'

"With her tears the guilty one washed the feet of her Creator and wiped them with her hair: wherefore she missed not her share in the life-work of redemption, but cried: 'All ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord!'

"The Gracious One effected her redemption by His saving mercy and fount of her tears, wherein she was washed clean by His forgiveness, and was no longer put to shame, but cried: 'All ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord!'

"Ode IX. Hither! and with pure hearts and undefiled lips let us magnify the stainless and holy mother of Emmanuel, and bring through her our plea to Him thatwas born of her. Spare our souls, O Christ our God, and save us!

"Proving insensate and wickedly jealous, the cunning Judas bargaineth an exchange for that divine gift, whereby the debt of sin hath been cleared; he tradeth away the grace of godly love. Spare our souls, O Christ our God, and save us!

"Going forth, he said to the wicked rulers: 'What will ye give me, and I will betray Christ, whom ye seek, to you the seekers?' So spake Judas, who preferred gold to the friendship of Christ. Spare our souls, O Christ our God, and save us!

"Oh, thy sordid greed, faithless one. But thou didst find forgetfulness thereof: since even so the balance of thy soul was not even, as thou wast taught. For in despair thou didst hang thyself with a noose, O traitor. Spare our souls, O Christ our God, and save us."

Most of Cosmas' canons have an acrostic, which, instead of a plain alphabet, forms an iambic verse. Still more ingenious are the iambic canons of John of

Damascus. Every line is a correct iambic trimeter by the ancient laws of quantity. Secondly, in the various odes, the corresponding lines of each stanza have the same rhythm according to the stress-accent; and, thirdly, the initial letters of the single lines form an elegiac quatrain. The style itself is a triumph of complexity.

In his Easter canon,* and some others written in free rhythm, John of Damascus shows a new vigour of style, and uses his difficult form with mastery of expression and grasp of subject. The Easter canon is probably the most celebrated hymn of the Greek Church; and in Neale's translation, "The Day of Resurrection," has an honourable place in our hymn-books. But it is only in the original that the splendour of its diction and the sonorous variety of the rhythm can be fully enjoyed.

* Translated in prose by Neale, op. cit., p. 880, with the intervening verses. For poetical translation see his "Hymns of East. Ch.," p. 30 ff.

CHAPTER IV

# Minor Byzantine Hymnography

## Up to the Ninth Century

The less pretentious kinds of hymn, whether written to existing melodies or not, flourished beside the longer forms throughout the Byzantine era. A large number in both classes consists of anonymous poems of various merit and date. Here and there we are tempted to find traces of antiquity, where a certain rugged simplicity confronts us; and it is not unlikely that many of these brief chants are remnants, surviving, like the fragments of Romanus in the service books, from larger works. I quote a few examples of this simpler style:—

"Anthologia,"* p. 90.

For Lent.—"My soul, my soul, arise; why sleepest thou?
The end is coming, and thou wilt be confounded.
Be sober; that Christ the Lord may spare thee;
For He is everywhere and filleth all things."

For Easter.—"Christ is risen from the dead,
By death He trampled upon Death;
And on those in the grave
He bestowed life."

"Though Thou wentest down to the grave,
Immortal Lord!
Thou didst destroy the power of Hell
And didst rise as Conqueror,
O Christ our God:
Saying to the myrrh-bearers 'Hail!'
And bestowing peace upon Thine Apostles;
While to the fallen Thou givest Resurrection."

* "Anthologia graeca carminum Christianorum," by W. Christ and M. Paranikas. This is the most convenient collection of texts for the student.

In these short hymns we see the nearest approach to popular religious poetry that Byzantine literature ever made.

Good Friday: Original and additional verses. "Anthologia," p. 67.

"When the Arimathean took down as dead from the Cross Thee, the Life of the world, in myrrh and shroud he buried Thee, O Christ. And in longing he was fain to kiss with his lips and clasp to his heart Thy body undefiled. Yet, held by fear, he cried exultingly to Thee: 'Glory to Thy humiliation, O Friend of man!'

"When Thou, Redemer of all, wast lain in the new grave for the sake of all, Hades, the scorn of all, saw Thee and trembled. The bolts brake, the gates were shattered, the tombs opened, and dead men rose. Then Adam in thankfulness cried exultingly to Thee: 'Glory to Thy humiliation, O Friend of man!'

"When of Thy free will Thy body was confined in the grave, who by the nature of Thy Godhead remainest uncircumscribed and indefinable, Thou didst open the treasury of death and despoil the whole realm of Hades, O Christ. Then Thou hallowedst this Sabbath also for divine blessing and glory for Thy majesty.

"When the Powers above saw Thee, O Christ, persecuted by the false witness of sinners, they were astounded at Thy wondrous long-suffering; and at the stone before Thy tomb sealed by the hands of man, whereby Thy Holy body was pierced with a spear. Yet in joy at our salvation, too, they cried to Thee: 'Glory to Thy humiliation, O Friend of man.'"

Dismissal Hymn for Ascension. "Anthologia," p. 90.

"Thou hast ascended in glory, O Christ our God,
Having gladdened Thy disciples
By the promise of the Holy Ghost,
And strengthened them by Thy blessing:
Because Thou art the Son of God,
The Redeemer of the world."

Byzantine hymns seldom give any hint either of the writer's own life and character or of the events of his day. Petitions for divine help in war and danger sometimes occur. The next hymn clearly shows the Empire beset by a heathen invader.

"Anthologia," p. 58.

"O Christ our God, arise swiftly before we be enslaved, for the foe blasphemeth against Thee and threateneth us. Smite by Thy Cross them that are against us. Let them know how strong is the true Faith, by the plea of the Mother of God, O only Friend of man!"

Prayers for the emperors and throne are also found in some hymns.

Elevation of the Cross (14th Sept.). "Anthologia," p. 59.

"O Thou, who of Thy free will wast lifted up on the Cross, grant Thy mercies, Christ our God, to the new commonwealth that beareth Thy name. Bless by Thy might our faithful sovrans, giving them victory over their enemies. May they have Thy alliance as a weapon of peace and an impregnable trophy!"

Additional verses to existing tunes are not necessarily of late date, though many show signs of decadence in a frigid and tasteless imitation. In a few cases the original poem has been entirely lost, although the heading shows the hymn to have been an adaptation, as in the following chant.

" Additional verse " for Martyrs. " Anthologia," p. 63.

" All-glorious martyrs, the earth hath not hidden you, but ye have been received into Heaven. The gates of Paradise opened ; ye passed within, and now enjoy the Tree of life. Plead then with Christ, that He grant peace to our souls and His great mercy."

The next chant shows a frequently used model.

Additional verses for the Elevation of the Cross. " Anthologia," p. 81.

" O wondrous miracle ! The life-saving Tree, the holy Cross, raised on high, this day appeareth. The ends of the earth give glory ; and all the demons are affrighted. Oh, what a gift hath been bestowed upon mankind, whereby, O Christ, save our souls, for Thou alone art merciful.

" O wondrous miracle ! The Cross that was raised on high, and bore the Most High, like a cluster of the Vine of Life, this day is seen. By it we are all drawn unto God, and death is swallowed up at the last. O undefiled Tree, by which we enjoy the immortal fruit of Eden, glorifying Christ !

" O wondrous miracle ! O breadth and length of the Cross, boundless as Heaven, because through divine grace it sanctifieth all things ! By this the heathen have been smitten, by this the royal sceptre hath been established. O divine ladder, whereby we ascend to heaven, praising in song Christ the Lord ! "

It has already been seen that verses addressed to the Virgin Mary were often inserted in canons. On High Feast days a special chant, based upon the Magnificat, preceded the ninth ode. In other parts of the service the same class of hymn also had a place. I quote two of the ordinary and one of the special type.

" Anthologia," p. 64.

" Glory of the Heavenly Host, mighty defence of men upon earth, Virgin unspotted, save us who flee to thee ; for in thee, next to God, our hopes we place, O Mother of God."

" Anthologia," p. 81.

" ' O wondrous miracle ! O strange mystery ! O dread endeavour ! ' the Virgin cried, when she beheld upon the Cross, hanging between two robbers, Thee, her Son, whom she bore without pain. She wept, crying ' Alas ! my dearest Child, how hath a cruel and thankless people nailed Thee to the Cross ! ' "

"Magnify, O my soul:
- The Virgin, more precious and glorious than the hosts of heaven.
- God, born of a Virgin, in the flesh.
- The King born in a cave.
- The God adored by the Wise Men.
- Him, revealed unto the Wise Men by a star.
- The Holy Virgin, Mother of Christ the King.

Magi and shepherds came to worship Christ, born in the city of Bethlehem, etc."*

**Anatolius (the Younger)** is the reputed author of a number of sacred poems, chief among which are the so-called "Resurrection-verses" incorporated in the enlarged rotation service, mentioned on page 21. It has been held that no such poet ever lived, the verses being named "Anatolian" from some connexion with the East. But the general view is that Anatolius II. lived at Constantinople about the eighth century. The "Resurrection-verses"† are tedious and formal, and it will be enough to quote from the selection for Saturday evening of the Third Mode. (The rotation was so arranged that one of the eight modes of Byzantine music was used for each of the eight weeks.)

"We bring our evening worship to Thee, the Light that knows no evening, who in the fullness of time didst shine upon the world as in a mirror in Thy Flesh. Thou wentest down to Hell, and having dispelled the darkness there, didst shew the Gentiles the light of Thy resurrection. O Lord, Giver of Light, to Thee be glory! . . .

"The soldiers of the watch were suborned by the law-breakers: 'Conceal the resurrection of Christ. Take money, and say, 'While we slept the body was stolen from the sepulchre!' Who hath seen, who hath ever heard, of a body stolen away—nay, more, a body anointed—stripped, while the grave-clothes were left in the tomb? Be not deceived, ye Jews. Learn the sayings of the prophets, and know that He is indeed the Saviour of the world, and the Almighty.

"Lord, the despoiler of Hades, who didst trample on death, Saviour, the Light of the world, by Thy precious Cross have mercy upon us!"

**Saint Germanus** (645-740) was a more distinguished writer of short hymns. Numerous Idiomela for the saints, besides some short verses or troparia in the Octoechus, are ascribed to him. We are told that his musical compositions served to cheer the tedium of vigils. His style is sincere and strong, but rather prosaic. I quote one of his Christmas hymns.‡

"When, at the time of Thy presence upon earth, the first enrolling of the world took place, then Thou purposedst to enrol the names of all men that believed in Thy Birth. For this cause was such a decree proclaimed by Caesar. For in Thine everlasting kingdom that which had no

* "Anthologia," p. 85.
† Stichera Anastasima.
‡ "Anthol.," p. 98. The Canons ascribed to Germanus may be spurious (Ibid., p. XLIII.). Neale, "Hymns, etc.," pp. 24–26, has translated some troparia and the other Christmas hymn.

beginning was created afresh. Wherefore, we, too, above the tribute of riches, bring the wealth of a true religion to Thee the God and Saviour of our souls."

**Andreas Pyrrhus** and **Ephraim of Caria** were probably contemporaries of Germanus. Both wrote short hymns which are incorporated in the service books; but their work is not of sufficient interest for quotation here.

**Casia** (Icasia or Cassiane).—To most English readers Casia's name is best known from a famous passage in Gibbon, describing the brideshow of the emperor Theophilus (829-842).

" With a golden apple in his hand he slowly walked between two lines of contending beauties; his eye was detained by the charms of Icasia, and, in the awkwardness of a first declaration, the prince could only observe that in this world, women had been the occasion of much evil: ' And surely, Sir,' she pertly replied, ' they have likewise been the occasion of much good.' This affectation of unseasonable wit displeased the imperial lover; he turned aside in disgust: Icasia concealed her mortification in a convent, and the modest silence of Theodora was rewarded with the golden apple."*

We are further told by the chroniclers that Casia herself founded a nunnery in which she lived; and that she wrote hymns in the reigns of Theophilus and Michael (842-867).† Beside these sacred poems, a number of secular pieces written by Casia have been brought to light in recent years. These consist mainly of epigrams and moral sentences, and they show no small insight into human disposition as well as a strong touch of sarcasm.

Two of the hymns are quoted here; another will be given below with the music.

A striking use of antithesis is seen in the Christmas hymn. There we have no less than five pairs of ideas in contrast, which balance in metre as in thought. The notion of opposing the Infancy and the Omnipotence of Christ did not originate with Casia. We find it in the famous Christmas hymn of Romanus, where again there is an echo of Isaiah. " For unto us is born this day a young child, who is God before all ages." But, while Romanus recalls every event attending the birth of Christ on earth, Casia glorifies the new-born King with the sonorous praises of universal sovranty; and on this day of all days her glowing periods produce an unusual effect of grandeur, rising to pathos in the simple close. Not only is this hymn a work of great technical ingenuity, but its construction is worthy of the sublimity of the subject.

* This story is by no means free from historical difficulties, cf. E. W. Brooks, Byz. Zeitschr. X. 543.

† On all these matters v. Krumbacher Sitzungsber. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. W. 1897, 305 ff., where the various forms of her names are discussed.

Hymn for Christmas.*

"When Augustus became monarch upon earth,
The multitude of the kingdoms among men was ended;
And when Thou wast incarnate of the Holy One,
The multitude of divinities among the idols was put down.
Beneath one universal empire have the cities come,
And in one divine dominion the nations believed.
The folk were enrolled by the decree of the emperor,
We, the faithful, have been inscribed in the name of Deity,
Oh, Thou our incarnate Lord,
Great is Thy mercy, to Thee be glory!"

There can be no doubt, however, that the ode for Wednesday in Holy Week is the best of the series. Possibly it contains too much antithesis, and the mention of Eve seems to us a little pedantic. Otherwise, for beauty of words and depth of feeling, it is justly admired. The way in which dramatic and narrative elements are blended, and the final prayer, wherein the need of one sinner is absorbed into the cry of a whole suffering world, reveal the work of a true poetess.

Hymn for Wednesday in Holy Week.*

"Lord, the woman fallen in many sins, seeing Thy Divinity,
Taking the part of myrrh-bearer, wailing bringeth to Thee myrrh against Thy burial;
'Alas!' she crieth, 'for that night is to me the wildness of sin, dusky and moonless, even the love of transgression;
Accept the springs of my fears, who with clouds partest the waters of the sea;
Bend to the groanings of my heart, who has brought down Heaven by Thine ineffable humiliation:
I will kiss again Thy stainless feet,
I will wipe them with the hair of my head;
Thy feet, whereof when Eve in Paradise heard the sound, she hid herself for fear;
The multitude of my sins, and the depths of Thy judgment, who shall explore, Saviour of souls, my Redeemer?
Forget not me, Thy servant, Thou, whose mercy is infinite!'"

A vast collection of original hymns goes under the name of **Byzantius**, an author of uncertain date. Critics have guessed that the series is the work of many hands, and that any anonymous poem in the Constantinopolitan tradition might have been put down to "Byzantius." Certainly these hymns, which are mostly for saints' days, are of strictly conventional type. The faithful are called to praise the saint, whose acts, or martyrdom, are then vaguely described or else suggested by trite imagery. A plea for the saint's intercession usually ends the hymn. The majority of the idiomela, scattered like those of "Byzantius" throughout

* Greek text in Christ-Paranikas, Anthol. p. 103–104.

the service books for the months, are built upon this plan, exemplified by the following quotation:—

"Byzantius." Hymn for Saint Basil. "Anthologia," p. 101.

"O godly and holy bee of the Church of Christ, all-blessed Basil: arming thyself with the sting of divine love, thou didst pierce the blasphemies of ungodly heresy, and for the souls of the faithful didst lay up the sweetness of piety; and now, ranging the heavenly gardens of pasturage undefiled, be mindful of us, and plead for us with the Triune God!"

CHAPTER V

# Later Developments of Greek Hymnody

## The School of the Studium

Saint John of Damascus was considered as one of the Church's champions for the cause of orthodoxy against the Iconoclasts. But, while he issued his writings from the safe retreat of S. Sabbas, other holy men, at the very centre of strife, were suffering and dying for the sake of the Images. Several of the leaders in the struggle were also writers of hymns, notably the Saints Theophanes, Methodius, and Theodore of the Studium (so called from the famous monastery at Constantinople, of which he was abbot).

**Theophanes** (759—after 842).—The dates and details of this saint's life are somewhat uncertain.* He seems to have been educated at Jerusalem, but afterwards to have spent some time at the Studium, as well as in other monasteries. He was cruelly persecuted by Leo, the Armenian, and also by Theophilus, at whose bidding he was branded on the forehead, and hence gained the name of Graptus. Nevertheless, he lived to see the final triumph of orthodoxy, and became archbishop of Nicæa.

The works of Theophanes are very voluminous, more than one hundred canons, besides shorter poems from his pen, being included in the service books. He often wrote words for existing tunes. His style was much admired, but strikes a modern reader as somewhat stiff and monotonous. The writing of special canons for such a large number of saints' days was a task that would have taxed the most fertile imagination; and with Theophanes the result is verbiage and repetition.

* The accounts of W. Christ and Krumbacher differ widely from that of Neale. Some of the statements may be partly legendary.

Two sets of his Stichera are translated by Neale.* The "Anthologia," besides some short hymns, contains his verses for the dead, sung on Saturdays in Lent. I quote the first set, as a fair example of Theophanes' style.†

"Thee, Saviour, we pray, accept as worthy of Thy sweet communion those that have passed hence, and grant them to dwell in the tents of the saints, in the resting-places of Thy just ones, in the heavenly tabernacles, in Thy mercy regarding not their sins, but bestowing upon them forgiveness.

"None of mankind is sinless, no, not one save Thee, sole immortal: therefore, as merciful God, set Thy servants in the Light, with the companies of Thine angels, by Thy mercy overcoming their sins, and granting unto them rest.

"Above that which is seen are Thy promises, Saviour, which neither eye hath beheld nor ear hath heard, nor have they entered into the heart at any time; to sweetest participation wherein be it Thy pleasure that they should attain who have passed on unto Thee; and grant them everlasting life.

"Exulting in Thy cross, by Thy cross encouraged, Thy servants fared forth unto Thee, O Lord. Grant them now Thy cross as a ransom for their dread sins; grant them Thy blood that was shed for the life of the world, forgiving their transgressions and lighting them with the light of Thy countenance.

"O Virgin Mother, implore Christ thy Son to grant remission of sins to thy servants, that piously proclaim thee as Mother of God, and profess true faith concerning thee; pray thou, that He may deem us worthy of the brightness and glory of the saints in thy kingdom."

**S. Theodore of the Studium** (759-826) was one of the greatest defenders of the Images. He suffered under the Emperors Constantine Copronymous and Leo the Armenian. On the accession of Michael Curopalata (820), an epoch of toleration began, which Theodore celebrates in a hymn of joy and thanksgiving, translated by Neale, assigned to Orthodoxy Sunday (first in Lent). The saint, however, died before the final victory of his cause. A considerable number of sacred poems by Theodore are found in the service books. They consist of Idiomela, Canons, and Triodia, besides a few Stichera for the dead. The canons and triodia are probably his most successful works, though all are marred by pomposity of style and excess of epithet. The best is, perhaps, the Canon for Sexagesima Sunday on the Last Judgment. It cannot, indeed, be compared to the ode of Romanus on the same theme, but it has been deservedly admired. Neale has also translated this canon.‡

* "Hymns," etc., pp. 88, 89.
† "Anthol," p. 122.
‡ See op. cit., pp. 94–103. Another hymn, better known to modern readers is the Idiomelon, given in "Anthol.," p. 101, paraphrased by Neale, p. 116. Neale's own account of its source is mistaken. The hymn is ascribed either to Theodore or to S. John of Damascus. (Printed in Hymns A. and M., "Stars of the Morning so gloriously bright," No. 423).

**S. Methodius** (†846), after various sufferings under the Iconoclastic emperors, became patriarch of Constantinople on the final cessation of the struggle. Methodius was born at Syracuse, but spent most of his life at Constantinople. His writings were few, and only two short hymns from his pen are included in the service books; nor do these show any special excellence.*

**S. Joseph of the Studium** (†883). According to the usual account, Joseph was a Sicilian by birth, and afterwards lived as a monk at Thessalonica, and later at Constantinople.† On the outbreak of the second iconoclast persecution, he set out for Rome, but fell into the hands of pirates, who took him to Crete. Released at length, he returned to Constantinople, where he devoted himself to the writing of hymns.

Joseph was a very prolific writer. More than 200 of his canons are printed in the Menæa, besides many in the Paracletice, and a large number of Triodia for Lent. Many of these bear an acrostic giving the author's name. He also wrote a few short hymns with music, but, as a rule, he composed new words to existing tunes. His style is pompous and verbose. The versions given by Neale are many of them brilliant paraphrases rather than translations.‡

**Metrophanes** (†c. 910), Bishop of Smyrna, was the most important writer of canons after S. Joseph. He composed eight canons in honour of the Trinity, one in each of the eight modes. It seems that he adapted them to existing melodies. The style of this hymnwright is learned and highly ornate, but he shows no great originality in his treatment of the subject.§

**Photius** (†891), the eminent patriarch and scholar, has contributed to the service books two hymns (for S. Methodius, June 14th). We have already referred to the Anacreontic poem of this learned prelate.‖ His short hymns differ little from the ordinary pattern; they have a certain dignity, but do not need quotation here.¶

**Leo VI.**, who reigned from 886 to 917, and was called "the Wise" or the "Philosopher," was a Church poet of some merit. Of his Anacreontic ode we have already spoken; besides this he wrote a few Idiomela, but is, perhaps, better known for his Eothina or Morning Resurrection Hymns, which found a place in the service. These, eleven in number, deal with the appearances of our Lord after His resur-

* See Neale, op. cit., p. 106. "Anthol.," p. 99.

† W. Christ, "Anthol," XLVII, holds that there were two Josephs, one a native of Thessalonica, the other a Sicilian, both of them hymnwrights. This view is not generally accepted.

‡ Op. cit., pp. 110—136.

§ Neale, op. cit., p. 142, has a cento from one of these canons.

‖ p. 6.

¶ Text in "Anthol.," pp. 99—100.

rection. Although many of the hymns are little more than paraphrases of Scripture, the subject itself, and an occasional glimmer of imagination, give them a certain attraction for a modern reader. Moreover, they have received much attention from Byzantine composers, and various musical settings are found in the manuscripts. I quote several of the Eothina.*

"6. Thou, Christ, being the true Peace of God unto men, in granting Thy peace to the disciples after the resurrection, didst terrify them who thought that they saw a spirit. But Thou dispelledst their confusion by showing Thy hands and Thy feet; and while they still doubted, Thou, by partaking of food and reminder of Thy teaching, didst open their minds to understand the Scriptures. To them Thou promisedst the Comforter from the Father, and after blessing them departedst to heaven. Therefore with them we adore Thee. O Lord, to Thee be glory!"

"7. Behold, darkness and early morn. And why, Mary, standest thou by the sepulchre with much darkness in thy heart? Is it because thou seekest where Jesus is lain? But see the disciples assembling; how they, by the shroud and cloth, were convinced of the Resurrection, and were reminded of the Scriptures which speak thereof. With them, and through them, we also have believed; and we praise Thee, the Life-giver, Christ."

"8. The burning tears of Mary fall not in vain. For, lo! she hath been found worthy of angels' teaching and of a vision of Jesus himself. But still, like a weak woman, she thinketh the things of earth, wherefore she is warned not to touch Thee, O Christ. Howbeit she was sent as messenger to Thy disciples. To them she brought good tidings, announcing Thy ascension to Thy Father's abode. With her, do Thou deem us also worthy of Thy presence, O Lord our Master!"

"10. After Thy descent into Hell and Resurrection from the Dead, the disciples, as it seemeth, were downcast at parting from Thee, and turned to work. Boats and nets once more—but nowhere a catch. But Thou, Saviour, appearing as Lord of all, badest them cast their nets on the right hand. Straightway the word became a deed, and there was a great multitude of fishes, and a wondrous supper ready upon the land. Of this Thy disciples then partook. Grant us now, in the spirit, to feast with Thee, O Lord and Friend of man!"

**Constantine Porphyrogenitus** (917-959) was another imperial poet. In imitation of Leo, his father, he composed a set of eleven short hymns, called "Exaposteilaria" (a term of doubtful meaning), referring to the appearances of Christ after the resurrection. They are unpretentious poems, showing great sincerity of feeling, but little imagination.†

**John Mauropus** (†1060), Bishop of Euchaita, composed a number of hymns, many of them not found in the service books. A few sacred poems do appear there under his name; and it is possible that of the large number of canons and hymns inscribed John the Monk, a considerable portion may have been written, not,

* It seems somehow pedantic to call them "Heothina," as others do. The Greek texts are printed in "Anthol.," p. 105 ff. They are given in the Paracletice after the "exaposteilaria," and arranged by modes.—They are sung at Lauds.

† Greek text in "Anthol.," p. 110—2. These are sung at Lauds. For the meaning of the word, cf. Neale: "Hist., etc.," 844.

as the scribe probably thought, by S. John of Damascus, but by John Mauropus.* But, as the name was common, there may have been other hymnographers also named John who have added canons to the office-books.

By the tenth century the Church service books were fully supplied with hymns of all sorts for all possible occasions, so that the demand for sacred poetry practically ceased. Only a few small additions to the ritual have been made since that time. The art of hymnography never entirely died out, and it lingered on in the monastery of Grottaferrata, near Rome, for some years after its decline elsewhere.† But this offshoot had no effect on the general course of Byzantine literature, and we shall not discuss it here.

At the same epoch a great deal of attention was paid to Church music. Not only do we find, for the first time, a musical notation in the Eastern Church, but the composition of new tunes for familiar words became a frequent practice, and lasted until the eighteenth century. With this music, in its various stages, the rest of our studies will be concerned.

* He is also called J. Euchaiton from his See. It is, of course, most unlikely that S. John of Damascus should have been the author of the numerous saints' day canons ascribed to Johannes Monachus (see W. Christ, "Anthol.," XLVII).

† See Krumbacher, "Byzantine Literature," Sec. 276.

CHAPTER VI

# General Explanations:
## The Development of Byzantine Musical Notation

We have seen that sacred chant was an important part of the Church services from the very earliest times. But the surviving traces of definitely musical notations, invented for ecclesiastical use, do not go back beyond the last years of the tenth century. The ancient Greek symbols had long been forgotten, or were at most known to a few antiquaries; and the Byzantine systems were a new departure, the main principles of which are preserved in the notation of the present day under the Greek Church.

Throughout its growth, Byzantine music has kept certain well-marked features; for instance, instead of giving the pitch of every note in the melody, it uses interval signs, indicating that a certain note lies so many tones above or below the preceding, or is a repetition of it, as the case may be. Instead of major and minor scales, we have the eight ecclesiastical modes, with certain sub-divisions or varieties. The signature of the mode, prefixed to every hymn, gives the point of departure for the series of interval-signs making up the melody. Thirdly, there are no bars; but subsidiary signs are used with more or less definite effect on the time, or in some cases on the expression. Finally, the music is vocal, in one part, without accompaniment other than the drone or holding-note, which may be sustained by some portion of the choir during the chant.

The earliest Byzantine musical manuscripts are all service-books for use in Church; but even these only deal with what may fairly be called "hymns." Liturgies set to music, psalms, and examples for teaching purposes do not appear until a later date. The earlier systems, as might be expected, have only been deciphered, as far as this has been done at all, by the help of the later forms.

The following are the chief stages of the musical notation:—

(1) **Ecphonetic.** This is the name given to the signs used in the Gospel Lectionaries to guide the reader in his declamation. The Ecphonetic signs are found as early as the eighth century, and survived in their own field long after the true musical notation had been invented. We may fairly believe that the Ecphonetic system was not strictly musical; that is, the signs had no fixed interval or pitch-value, but guided in a general way the punctuation of the text as well as the elevation of the voice and the expression. Some signs are used mainly for questions; others in narrative passages; others, again, in exhortations. It may also be guessed that the frequent use of a symbol both at the beginning and at the end of a phrase means that the whole phrase is affected by it; while a single symbol may only apply to the syllable above which it stands. The number of combinations of symbols possible for any given phrase is not large. Comparison between Ecphonetic MSS. shows that in later specimens the symbols were often written out of place—the scribes no longer understanding which should be above the text and which below. This makes the notation look far more complicated than it really is. The musical recitation of the Gospel, in a style based upon tradition, is still practised in the Greek Church.*

(2) **Linear.**—This is a convenient name for a class of notation lasting from the tenth century to the twelfth. There are many varieties, which have been called Palæobyzantine, Mixed, Constantinopolitan, etc., or simply "Neumes." All these have long been a puzzle to musical palæographers; and no wholly satisfactory solution has yet been reached.† The earlier forms of the Neumes are in some cases extremely complicated; but the later MSS. are more like the Round System, which we shall describe below. It seems probable that some of the symbols (like the Gregorian Neumes) have not a fixed musical value, but only give an approximate indication to the singer. They could, therefore, only be deciphered by comparison with parallel versions in the later notation. This, I believe, can eventually be done. The early Byzantine Neumes were the starting-point of the mediæval notations of the Russian Church. Her music in the middle ages was purely unisonic and differed greatly from modern Russian Church music.

* An example is given by Thibaut, op. cit., p. 29. This in its general style resembles the latest phases of Byzantine music, showing oriental influence. We cannot, therefore, see in it a genuine reminiscence of the old Ecphonesis. Thibaut has on p. 101 a table purporting to exhibit the descent of the Eastern and Western notations from the Ecphonetic symbols. For general discussion see ibid., pp. 17 ff.; also Gastoué, op. cit., pp. 4—12 (both writers give facsimiles); Fleischer, O., "Neumenstudien," Pt. I., c. 7. Ecphonetic MSS. are common. For those in British Museum see "Musical Antiq.," 1911, p. 81.

† Discussion of the Neumes will be found in the works of Riemann, Gastoué, Fleischer and Thibaut, mentioned in my bibliography. These writers have either not tried to transcribe any of them, or else have signally failed in their attempts. (See also my articles in "Annual of Brit. Sch. at Athens," No. XIX, p. 95; "Amer. Journal of Archæol.," Vol. XX., No. 1, p. 62; "Journ. of Hellen. Stud.," Vol. XLI., p. 29.)

(3) **Round.**—This notation, also called Hagiopolitan, is rather more complicated than most of the Linear species; but it can now be read with virtual certainty on all essential points. This is due partly to its likeness to the modern system, but still more to the aid given by mediæval instruction-books and practice examples.*

(4) **Cucuzelian.**—Named after John Cucuzeles, a great master of mediæval chant. In this system the interval signs continue to be used as in the Round Notation. But more elaborate and florid rhythm, made possible by division of the unit of beat and the use of dotted notes, together with the growth of chromatic elements, is now seen. The number of subsidiary execution marks greatly increases. In point of date, there is no sharp division between the Round and the Cucuzelian phases. The former belongs roughly to 200-1450, the latter to 1450-1800.†

(5) **Chrysanthine,** or modern.—Few of our mediæval MSS. are later than the early 18th century, after which time the notation seems to have been little understood. The new system, based upon the Cucuzelian, but unlike it in many respects, was invented by Chrysanthus, a Greek archimandrite, and published in 1821. This notation is still in use in the Greek Church.

**Rhythm.**—Palæographers are by no means agreed as to the laws of rhythm governing Byzantine music. Are the ordinary notes to be taken as of equal time-value, or are some notes to be lengthened and others shortened according to any *a priori* rule?

*Fleischer's Theory.*—On this view, groups of notes over any syllable, unless the vowel be repeated or some lengthening mark be added, must divide among themselves the unit of time. Thus he takes the crotchet as the standard length; so, if there are two notes to a syllable, he writes quavers; if more, a triplet, or semiquavers, and so on. Repetition of vowels was probably a device to relieve the singer's memory or to aid him in voice-production. But its use is too inconsistent for us to believe that it had a specific effect on the time. Fleischer also claims that nearly all Byzantine music, if transcribed by his rules, will fall naturally into 4-time. But in some cases he ignores the prolongation-marks when they conflict with his theory.‡ Even so, a very large number of his examples fail to adapt themselves to his scheme. If we allow any manipulation of the rhythm, we lose what we most need, namely, a safe and uniform method of transcription. I prefer,

* For the Round Notation see my articles in "Mus. Antiq.," 1911, p. 156, 1913, p. 202; and "Annual of Brit. Sch. at Athens," Nos. XVIII, XXI, XXII. The chief instruction-book, the Papadike, is published and discussed by Fleischer, O., "Neumenstudien," Pt. III.

† The date of Cucuzeles himself is almost certainly about 1300. His "system" did not immediately come into general use. The legend about him is given in Athelstan Riley, "Athos," p. 171.

‡ Cf. his transcriptions passim; *e.g.*, op. cit., No. XXX, pp. 38—9.

therefore, to leave the unit of beat undivided in the Round system, and in the Cucuzelian only to divide it when the presence of a special sign justifies this course.

*Riemann's Theory.*—According to this hypothesis, the metrical unit is the *colon* or versicle. In MSS. of the Round system these versicles are usually marked off by dots in the text. The number of syllables may vary from one to fifteen or sixteen in each colon. Riemann wishes to fit every versicle into a fixed scheme of two bars of common time. To make this possible, every kind of prolongation or subdivision may be needed. In this process the length-marks in the music are only respected as far as they agree with the preconceived rhythmical pattern: a plain note may be anything from a semibreve to a demi-semiquaver. Sometimes Riemann arbitrarily divides a phrase into two *cola* against the MSS. evidence. But often this is impossible, and the resulting transcripts may be highly unvocal. Nearly all hymns transcribed on this plan lose their effective flow of melody and become lame and jerky. Further, the whole notion is pure hypothesis; a measured rhythm, whether in four beats or otherwise, is neither implied by anything discoverable in the notation, nor established by the remarks of mediæval theorists. We have, therefore, no grounds whatever for expecting or desiring such a rhythm, but adopt the following plan:—

Rules of Transcription from the Round System.

(1) Every plain note is written as a quaver.

(2) Prolongation marks in the MSS. make a crotchet.

(3) Other indications of stress, whether marked by subsidiary signs, or merely by word-accent, may be shown by emphasis, if lucidity demands it.

(4) The final note of a piece is always a crochet, being naturally held.

(5) A small separation mark corresponds to the dot dividing phrases in the MSS.

(6) Bar-marks are only meant to help the singer. They do not suggest a measured rhythm, nor do they necessarily correspond to anything in the MSS.

The view here put forward is that of Gastoué and Thibaut, confirmed by our own investigations. The most recent writer on the subject, Wellesz, reaches the same conclusion.*

* Dr. E. Wellesz, of Vienna University, has written a series of important disquisitions upon our subject; but it is only lately that these have come into my hands—a misfortune due to the lack of communication during the War and the months after it. I am glad to note that Dr. Wellesz, while rightly pointing out errors in some of my earlier articles, is virtually in agreement with the views put forward in this book—our several conclusions having been reached in complete independence. This harmony of views may easily be seen by anyone who will compare his version of the hymn for Saint Peter and Saint Paul (E. Wellesz in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, March 1921, p. 330) with my version given here on page 53. The fact that we have reached unanimity without any kind of collaboration and mainly in ignorance of each other's work, is a powerful argument for the soundness of our opinions. The chief contributions of Dr. Wellesz to the subject are the following:—

Die Rhythmik der byz. Neumen. (*Zeitschr. f. Musikwissenschaft*, 1921).

Zur Entzifferung d. byz. Notenschrift (*Oriens Christianus*, Neue Serie VII). A list of other articles by Dr. Wellesz will be found in *Zeitschr. f. Musikwissenschaft*, Zweiter Jahrgang, 4. Heft, p. 240.

**Tonality.**—Here we approach a subject beset with difficulties, for the interval-signs make no distinction between whole-tones and any smaller steps: the mediæval theorists tell us little or nothing about the character of the intervals.

*The Accepted View of the Modes.*—Byzantine music had eight standard modes, called in Greek ἦχοι. Of these four are authentic (κύριοι) and four plagal (πλάγιοι). The majority of western theorists find a general correspondence between the Byzantine and Gregorian modes,* the equation being as follows:—

| | *Byzantine.* | *Gregorian.* | *With Finalis.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Auth. | I | I | *d* |
| ,, | II. | III. | *e* |
| ,, | III. | V. | *f* |
| ,, | IV. | VII. | *g* |
| Plag. | I. | II. | *d* |
| ,, | II. | IV. | *e* |
| ,, (Barys) | III. | VI. | *f* |
| ,, | IV. | VIII. | *g* |

The starting notes of the Byzantine authentic modes are held to form an ascending scale, thus:—

| Mode | I. | II. | III. | IV. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *a* | *b* | *c* | *d* |

The Byzantine plagal modes are ranged theoretically a fifth below the authentic, thus:—

| Mode plagal | I. | II. | III. | IV. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *d* | *e* | *f* | *g* |

The Greek symbols for the modes were originally the first four letters of the alphabet, used as numbers, with the addition of πλ or $\frac{\lambda}{\pi}$ for the plagal. Each *martyria* was not only the signature of a mode, but also the equivalent of the *Finalis* of that mode (*i.e.*, its pitch as a separate sound) wherever it might occur.

It must further be noted that in MSS. the same note is often given either the plagal or the authentic signature, whichever the mode of the piece might happen to be. There is, however, only a limited range of notes so described: those above this only receive the authentic signatures, those below only the plagal. From

* The table above given will be found in Neale and Hatherly, "Hymns of the Eastern Church, with Music," p. xxxi. The arguments are well summed up by Fleischer (Neumenstudien, T. 3, pp. 42 ff).

practice-examples, which occur in various MSS.,* we glean the following table of signatures:—

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Authentic ..... | | I. | II. | III. | IV. | I. | II. | III. |
| | *c* | *d* | *e* | *f* | *g* | *a* | *b* | *c* |
| Plagal ..... | IV. | I. | II. | III. | IV. | I. | | |

The first inference is that certain notes were regarded as belonging both to the authentic and the plagal systems. Or, in other words, an authentic mode could use the *Finalis* of the corresponding plagal mode and *vice versa*. If we extend the scale of finals upwards and downwards, we should have a series of disjunct tetrachords in real sequence, thus:—

*G A* ♭*B c d e f g a* ♮*b c′ d′ e′* ♯*f′ g′ a′*

This scheme was probably regarded as the theoretical foundation of all modes, like the *Complete System* of ancient Greece; but in practice the modes undoubtedly retained in their extensions upwards and downwards the same tonal features as properly belonged to the central portions: *e.g.*, if a piece in Mode I. ran up to high *f*, that note would not need to be sharpened. On the other hand, *b* was a movable tone in ancient Greek theory; and it seems that the *b*-flat of the lowest tetrachord was sometimes imported into the middle region. In the modern system *b*-flat is a frequent accidental in descent.

This brings us to a further difficulty of the fundamental scale of modes—the question of pitch. If the modes were always taken at their theoretical height, we should find the higher authentic and lower plagal modes outrunning at both ends the compass of the human voice. It may therefore be fairly held that a certain amount of transposition or overlapping of the modes was adopted in practice. It is clear from the table that more than one possible starting-note is contemplated for seven out of eight modes; and whether we study mediæval hymns, or compare the use of modern Byzantine modes in regard to pitch, we shall have little doubt that something of the kind is required.

If we grant that a mode can start either from its own *Finalis* or from that of its brother-mode, the practical difficulty disappears, and the scales bear the following aspect.

Modes I. and I. plagal employ mainly the octave from *d* to *d′*. In no case however, is any mode restricted in its extension to a particular octave. Mode I. generally begins and ends on *a*, but may use *d*. I. plagal mostly begins on *d* and then takes *b*-flat. Mode II. has *b* or *e* for its *Finalis*. Mode II. plagal usually has *e* and takes *b*-flat. Mode III. has *c* or *f* for *Finalis*. Mode III.

* One of these examples I published with the Byzantine notation in "Mus. Antiquary," 1911, p. 158; a very similar piece is given by Fleischer, op. cit. Facs., p. 13.

plagal, if untransposed, begins on low *b*-flat; if transposed (as it generally is) it begins on *f*, still needing *b*-flat. Mode IV. generally starts from *g*; but sometimes, on the analogy of IV. plagal, it borrows *c*, in which case it needs *b*-flat. The fourth plagal itself regularly begins from *c* (also from *g*) and always takes *b*-flat.

The signatures not only give the point of departure for the melody, but can also be used at middle cadences to show the note on which a pause has to be made. As various notes are allowed in such cases, the signature will be borrowed from the mode in the *Finalis* of which the phrase concludes. Thus, if in Mode I. an internal cadence is made upon *f*, the signature of Mode III. would be written. The upper octave of the lower final (when not out of compass) is also available for this purpose, *e.g.*, *d'* in Mode I. or I. plagal.*

The scheme just given seems to be valid in all the instances of the first and fourth modes that we have been able to examine. But in the second and third modes there may have been the option of taking the *Mese* or mediant (two notes above the lower *Finalis*) as the starting-point, instead of the *Finalis* itself. Certain formulæ at the beginning of the piece were possibly meant to indicate this variety; but as these formulæ are themselves obscure, it is not unlikely that in these modes the proper beginning can only be found by trial. Until more specimens have been transcribed, we cannot speak with assurance on this point. The fourth plagal seems to have had several possible starting-notes.

*Varieties of the Modes: the Chromatic Element.*—In late MSS. an off-shoot of Mode IV., with a peculiar signature, sometimes occurs. It is seldom treated as an independent mode, in which a whole hymn could be set; but more often is used by way of transition, the original mode, to which the music finally returns, being one of the standard eight. This variety, under the name of *Legetos*, survives to the present day, and is still classed as a form of Mode IV. The scale is *e*—*e* on the white notes.

*The Phthorae or Modulants.*—It is agreed by all theorists that chromatic alterations in Byzantine music were indicated by signs called *Phthora* (plural *Phthorae*, in Greek φθορά, φθοραί). For this, we may use the word "modulant." There is a modulant for every mode, plagal and authentic, besides a special *Phthora* for the *Nenano*. This, by general consent, is taken to be the chromatic mode, which at the present has the same *Phthora* as in the Middle Ages.

* The view of the modes given above is in agreement with the tenets of all the chief writers upon the subject. Riemann and Fleischer have different schemes of transposition; but they do not differ upon the essential nature of the modes. Gaisser put forward a divergent theory; but this has not been accepted by recent writers. We have, after fuller study, withdrawn our own support from Gaisser's theory, and the author himself seems to have been inclined to modify it. (See the books of Gaisser and Riemann in the bibliography.) Dom Gaisser, whose death in Belgium was hastened by the hardships of war, will be mourned by all lovers of Byzantine music, for which he had done valuable pioneer work.

Except in very late MSS. we seldom find a whole hymn using the *Nenano:* but modulations into it are frequently made, especially from Mode II. plagal (which at the present day is chromatic throughout), though also from Mode II., Mode I. plagal, and rarely from others. The scale in question, if approached from Mode II. or II. plagal, was as follows:—

*e f g ♭a ♯b c′ d′ (e′ ♯f′)* etc.,

if from Mode I. plagal, as follows:—

*d ♭e ♯f g a ♭b ♯c′ d′*

The growing popularity of this species in the later Middle Ages is very likely due to oriental influence, as Arabic and Turkish music are both fond of it. But originally it may well have been a development of the ancient Greek chromatic genus, which seems to have survived to the very end of classical times along with the diatonic.

The remaining modulants are of extremely rare occurrence in mediæval music. They are chiefly used as warnings to the singer to keep to the original mode; or, if the melody has passed beyond the usual compass of any particular mode, to indicate that an automatic transition has been made into a new mode. The modulant is always that of the mode approached, not that of the mode quitted. It must, however, be understood that modulations into extreme keys, such as are at least theoretically possible in the modern system, are wholly outside the purview of mediæval Greek musicians; and also that when the signature (not the *Phthora*) of some mode other than the original one is used at a medial cadence, nothing is meant beyond a momentary pause upon the *Finalis* of the new mode, the melody proceeding normally, just as if no internal signature had been inserted.

All the types of Byzantine mode so far described, whether chromatic or not, can be played with sufficient accuracy on our modern keyed instruments,* and sung without difficulty by western singers. We have thus assumed that the scale of the Byzantines was tuned to a temperament little different from our own: that is to say, it consisted of tones and semitones and excluded irrational intervals.

The modes as described by Chrysanthus† differ radically from this; but we have good reason for classing them as oriental, and therefore not the original ecclesiastical modes.

We shall now explain the Round system of notation, in which the most important documents of Byzantine music can be read with fair certainty. Our exposition will be followed by various examples.

* The "just" intonation is of course preferable.

† An account of these will be given in Chapter X.

CHAPTER VII

# The Round System of Notation: A Practical Exposition

1. *The Interval-signs.*—The signature or Martyria, as already explained, gives the point of departure for the melody; but its actual progressions, whether in ascent, descent, or repetition, are shown by interval-signs. Those signs that indicate progression by *step* are called in Greek Somata ("Bodies"), while those denoting *leaps* are called Pneumata ("Spirits"), as will be seen in the adjoining table:—

Equality, or repeated note:
Ison (Soma)

Ascending Second
Oligon (Soma)

Oxeia ,,

Petaste ,,

Kouphisma ,,

Pelaston ,,

Kentemata ,,

Ascending Third: Kentema (Pneuma)

Ascending Fifth: Hypsele ,,

Descending Second: Apostrophus (Soma)

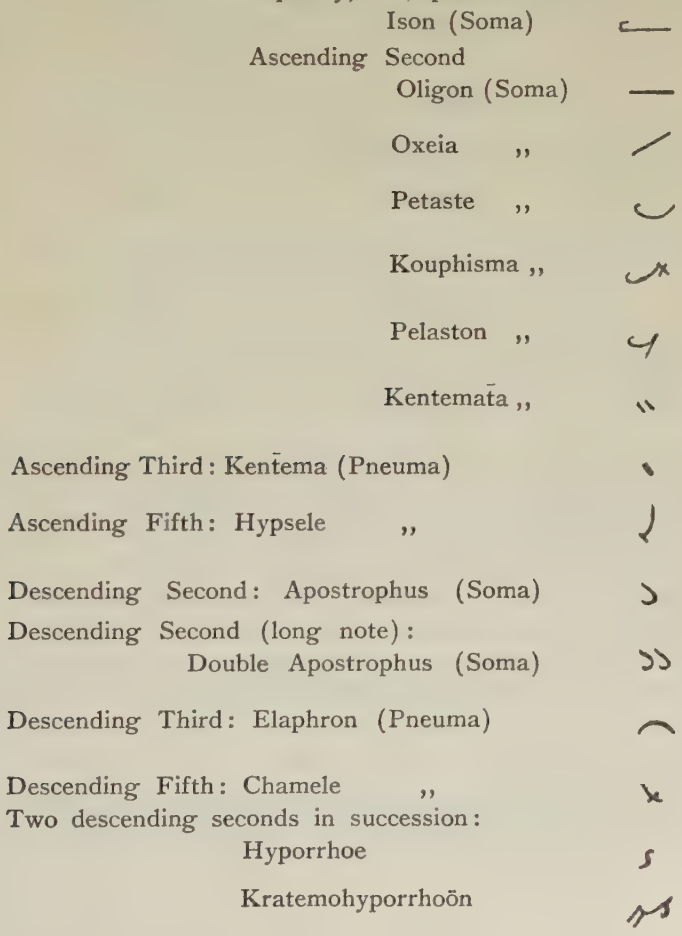
Descending Second (long note):
Double Apostrophus (Soma)

Descending Third: Elaphron (Pneuma)

Descending Fifth: Chamele ,,

Two descending seconds in succession:
Hyporrhoe

Kratemohyporrhoön



[FIG. 1.]

*2. Symbols in Composition.**—(A) The signs called Pneumata, or "spirits," seldom stand alone; but when written below a Soma, or to the right of it, they absorb its interval-value and deprive it of sound. This process is called Hypotaxis, or subordination. If, however, the leap-sign is written *above* the step-sign, the values of both are reckoned; and a single large interval results.

Examples of subordination: The Oligon is a Soma and the Kentema a Pneuma; therefore the combination —. or —˗ makes an ascending third.

Similarly with the Hypsele —˪ is a fifth upwards.

So, in descent, Apostrophus-Elaphron ⸗˄ makes a descending third.

And with the Chamele ⸗˂ gives a descending fifth.

Examples of superimposed symbols, both being reckoned together: Kentema over Oligon ‾ ascending fourth.

Hypsele over Oligon ˪ ascending sixth.

Elaphron over Apostrophus ⸗ descending fourth.

Chamele over Apostrophus ˂⸗ descending sixth; and so on.

FIG. 2.

We can now illustrate the use of interval-signs by a simple example, omitting all rhythmical indications. I take the tune S. Flavian (*Hymns A. & M.*, 560), and for the sake of uniformity, turn all the notes into quavers. (See Fig. 3.)

The only difference between Oligon and Oxeia seems to be that the latter is rather more often put over an accented syllable. The Petaste is followed by a descent of the melody. (The Kouphisma and Pelaston are hardly ever used). The compounds in the above passage are: In bar I, Kentema absorbing Oligon equals 3rd upwards; in bar 3, Kentema over Petaste (*i.e.*, not annulling it) equals 4th upwards; and Elaphron absorbing Apostrophus equals 3rd downwards. The medial signatures are those of Modes I. and III. (*cf*, table of modes below, Fig. 5).

* Dr. Hugo Riemann in a pamphlet entitled *Studien zur byz. Musik* (Leipzig, 1915) replies to some criticism of mine upon his book, *Die Byz. Notenschrift*. On the question of the modes I am now more or less in agreement with Riemann, but I regard his new theory of the interval-signs as entirely mistaken, and I have written a reply which will appear in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* shortly. Dr. Wellesz appears to agree with me on all matters in which I differ from Riemann.

(B) If two step-signs of similar direction are combined over one syllable, the steps are taken separately. Thus, No. 2 in Fig. 3 would be two successive seconds upwards; and No. 1 two successive seconds downwards. (But the Double Apostrophus is *one* step of a second, the note being prolonged in duration, No. 3). Similarly, the Kentemata add an ascending second to any note, whether in repetition or ascent or descent; but Kentemata cannot be the first or

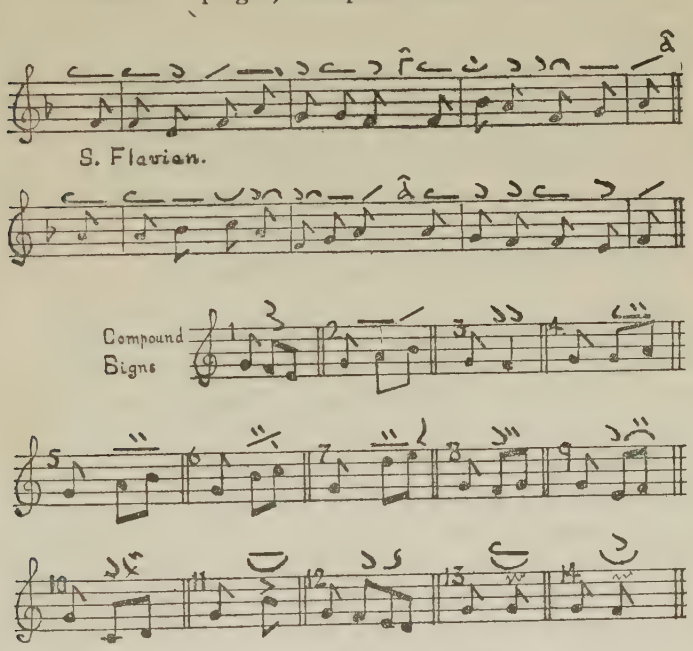



FIG. 3.

only sign over a syllable; nor are they liable to absorption (Nos. 4—10). On the other hand, Oligon (or Oxeia) above Petaste makes a leap of a third with a strong accent (No. 11). In our examples *g* is assumed as starting-note throughout.

(C) The Hyporrhoe cannot be the first sign over a syllable, and is not liable to absorption. Hence, it is said to be neither Soma nor Pneuma (see No. 12).

(D) The Ison annuls all ascending signs, except the Kentemata, above which it stands. (But is has no effect on descending signs.) The annulled sign was probably heard as an ornament (No. 13).*

(E) Ascending signs are also annulled by descending signs placed above them (No. 14).

A clear understanding of these rules is essential to a working knowledge of the Round System. Not only are they explicity laid down in the mediæval handbook called Papadike; but their validity has been proved by the transcription of numerous examples, a selection from which will be given in the next chapter.

3. *Subsidiaries.*—Besides the signatures and interval-signs, the Round System has a great number of subsidiary symbols connected with rhythm, expression, or some other peculiarity of execution. These subsidiaries are called Hypostases. The earlier Round Notation uses them much more sparingly than its later forms. It will be enough, therefore, to explain those usually found in MSS. from the 13th to the 15th century.

(A) Subsidiaries with definite time-value (see Fig. 4).—Diple, Kratema, Apoderma, lengthen a quaver to a crotchet. Here we again refer to the Double Apostrophus, which has both time and interval value, denoting a descending second made by a crotchet. Also the Kratemo-hyporrhoön, a compound of Kratema and Hyporrhoe, indicates a prolonged note followed by two descending seconds (see last symbol in Fig. 1, above). To this an Oligon or Oxeia may be added, the whole being called Kratemo-hyporrhoön-oligon or Kratemo-hyporrhoön-oxeia.

(B) Other rhythmical signs (see Fig. 4).—Gorgon, "quick-sign," a warning not to make a rallentando on nearing a cadence (after the 15th century it seems to indicate subdivision into semi-quavers). Argon, "slow-sign," slight rallentando (rarely used). Psephiston, slight accent, usually with ascending notes. Piasma, probably a slight accent with groups of descending notes. Bareia usually marks a group of ascending and descending notes just before a strong accent. In later MSS. it becomes little more than a sign of separation, used in florid passages, and may even bear a secondary accent. Klasma, or Tzakisma, a detached note. These signs in section B do not as a rule need to be expressed in transcription, as they only indicate effects naturally secured by intelligent singing.

(C) Slurs (see Fig. 5).—Lygisma, Kylisma, Antikenoma, Heteron, and others less frequent.

* The idea of *ornamentation* is due to Dr. Riemann. In the opinion of Dr. Wellesz, the annulled sign affected the *execution* of the note (*e.g.*, Oxeia=strong accent; Oligon=slight accent), without adding anything to it. We may, perhaps, combine the two views.

(D) Summary or Group-signs.—These are rare in early MSS., but were used freely by some later scribes, when (it is supposed) the singers had become less expert in reading the interval-signs. Such symbols add nothing to the melody, and need not be transcribed. The commonest are: Thematismus eso, Tromikon, Ekstrepton (*v.* Fig 5), all denoting ornamental florid groups. Any other subsidiaries found in our examples will be explained as they occur.

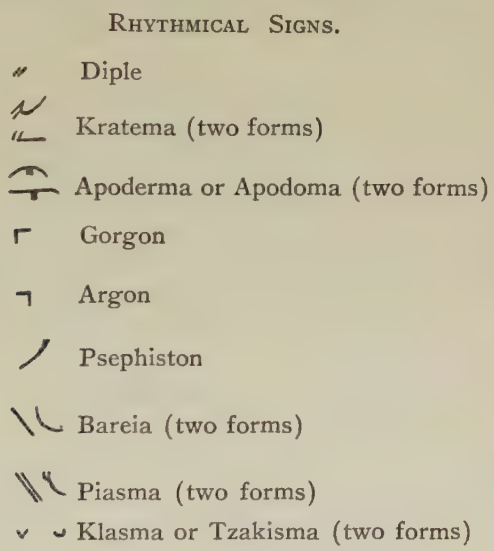



Fig. 4.

(E) For expression.—Here may belong, Parakletike, Parakalesma, both suggesting "to beseech," Homalon, quavering or tremolo. The Enarxis (originally perhaps the same as Parakletike) denotes the beginning of a phrase (see Fig. 5).

4. *The Modes and Their Signatures.*—There are four Authentic and four Plagal modes. Every mode has its proper signature or Martyria, which not only indicated the number of the mode, but also the appropriate starting-note. Most of these signatures are letters of the Greek alphabet used as numbers.* In early

* The application of ancient Greek names to the mediæval modes was carried out very inconsistently, and probably gives no clue to their nature. The Papadike describes them thus: Authentic, I. Dorian, II. Lydian, III. Phrygian, IV. Mixolydian; Plagal, the same with Hypo-prefixed. Earlier mediæval theorists disagree among themselves, and with the Papadike (cf. W. Christ and Paranikas, "Anthologia," Introd., p. cxx.).

MSS. their forms are clear; but later they became stylised, and finally assumed the mysterious shapes current at the present day. In the next Figure we give both the earlier and later forms of the Martyriae and also the Phthorae or Modulation-signs, the use of which was explained in the last chapter.

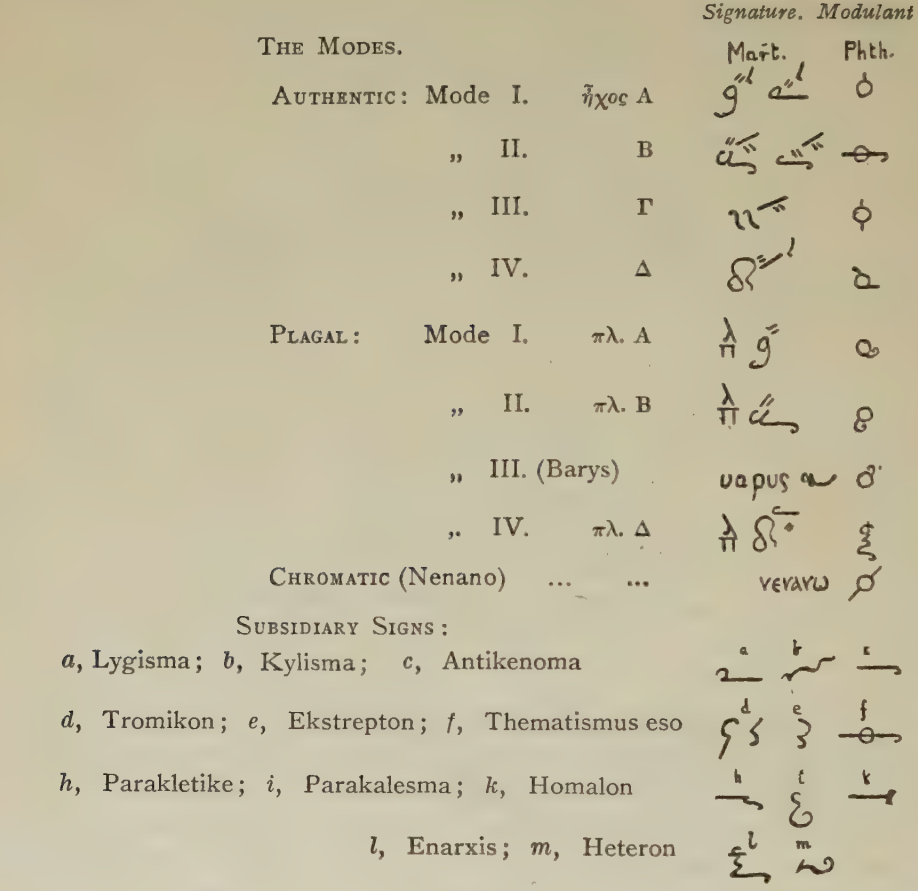



Fig. 5.

The reader can now proceed to a series of graduated examples, which should be easily decipherable after the explanation already given. A few remarks on difficult passages are added.

CHAPTER VIII

# Examples of Mediæval Byzantine Hymns of the Round System

*Classes of Manuscripts.*—The earlier musical MSS. are, where complete, either (1) Hirmologium, containing the Hirmi, or typical verses of the Canons, arranged by modes; or (2) Sticherarium, containing the Idiomela, or hymns with melodies of their own. A Sticherarium, if complete, contains (*a*) the Idiomela of the Menæa, *i.e.*, hymns for fixed days; (*b*) those of the Triodium, *i.e.*, for Lent and Holy Week; (*c*) those of the Pentecostarium, *i.e.*, for Eastertide to Trinity; (*d*) the Octoechus, including Antiphons, the Stichera Anastasima, and the Eothina. The Cucuzelian MSS. are usually called "Anthologium," and contain various selections.*

Space will not allow us to illustrate every mode; but we give some characteristic examples.

Mode I.—Our first specimen is an Idiomelon (hymn with its own tune) for the Sunday of the Myrrh-bearers.† The modal character is strictly kept, most of the cadences being on *a* or *d*, the regular Finals. An occasional pause on *g* gives variety. The florid endings are of a type frequent in Byzantine music of the classical Round Notation. The dramatic element in the words is borne out skilfully by the musical setting. The Idiomelon for S. Peter and S. Paul by the poetess Casia‡ shows greater variety in the medial cadences, and ends on the lower final. Imitated passages occur, as often in Byzantine music.

Hymn for 2nd Sunday after Easter. Byzantine Notation in *Mus. Antiq.*, 1913, p. 217.

*Translation.*—

"The Magdalene and the other Mary came to the Tomb, seeking the Lord; and they found an angel, as it were lightning, seated upon the stone;

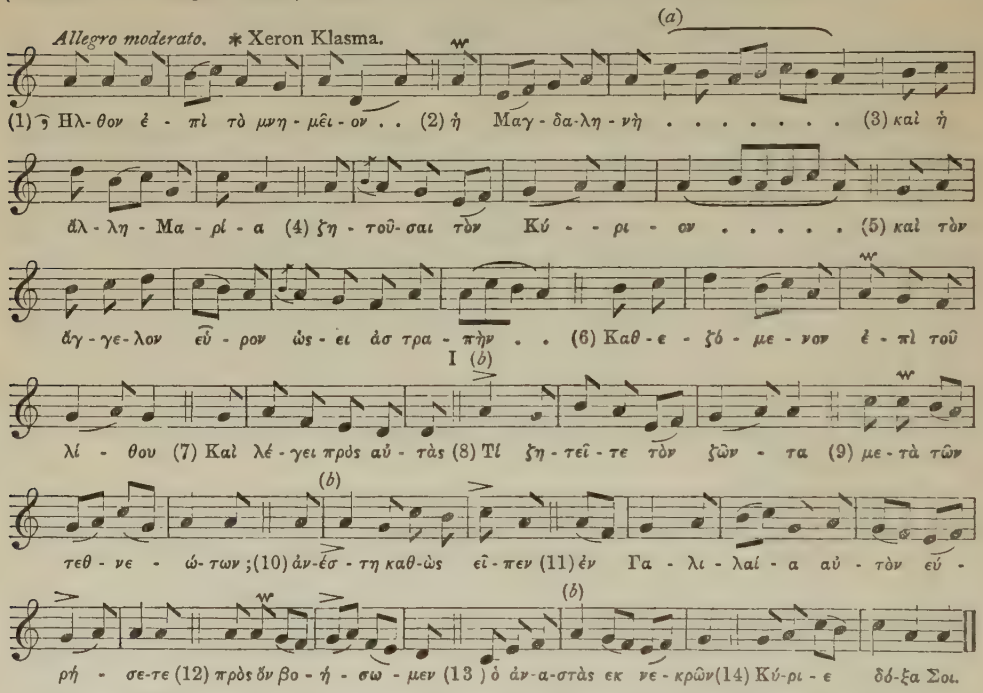
* For further remarks on these classes of MSS. see "Musical Antiq.," 1913. pp. 204 ff. For the contents of "Anthologia," see Cat. of Brit. Mus. MSS., "Musical Antiq.," 1911, pp. 81 ff.

† From the Athos MSS. Xenophontis, No. 113, p. 508.

‡ From a MS. in the National Library at Athens. For Casia see above, p. 29.

and he saith unto them: 'Why seek ye the living with the dead? He is risen, as He said. In Galilee ye shall find Him.' To Him let us cry: 'O, Thou, our Lord, who did'st rise from the dead, to Thee be glory.'"

At (*a*) is the Kratemo-hyporrhoon-oligon=a long note followed by two notes downwards and one upwards. At (*b*) probably the Kratema (=crotchet), it might be the Xeron Klasma (=staccato and slight accent), the distinction not always being clear in the MSS.




Hymn for SS. Peter and Paul: 28th June (by Casia*). Cod. Athen. 883, f. 169. Mode I. (Facsimile v. Byz. Zeitschr. Vol. XX., p. 441.)

*Translation:*—

"The great lights of the Church, Peter and Paul, let us praise,
For they outshone the sun in the firmness of their faith,
And by the rays of the Gospel they brought back the nations out of darkness.

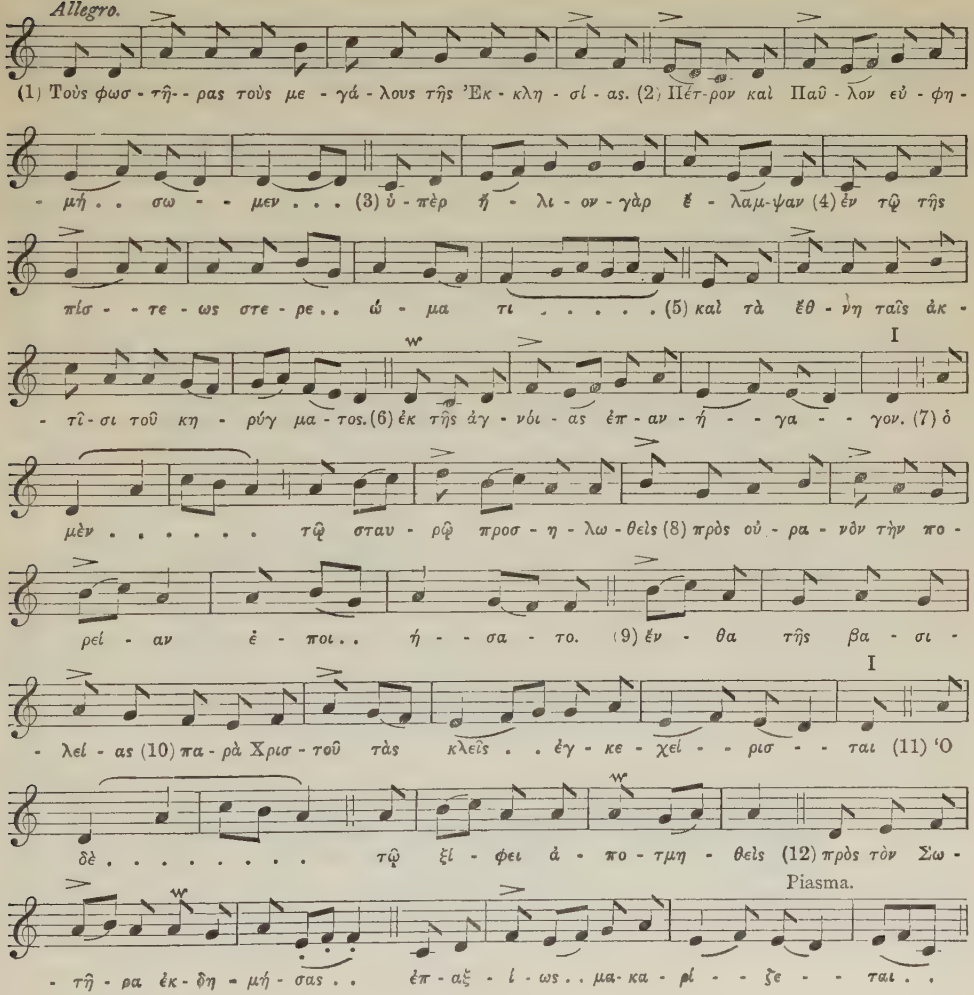
The one, nailed to the cross, made him a way unto Heaven, where he hath received of Christ the keys of the kingdom.

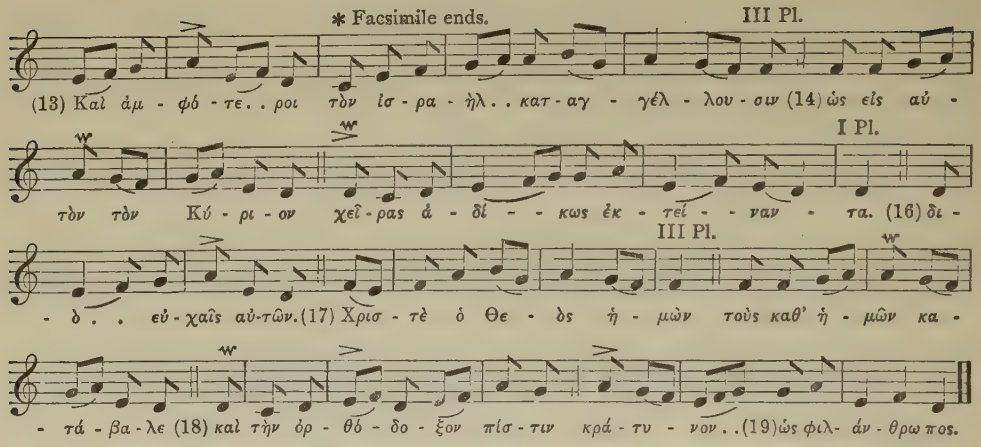
* Anon. in Menæum, which I follow in numbering the lines. The Athens MSS. contains variants to the music, inserted in red; these we omit.

The other, cut off by the sword, fared forth unto his Saviour, and is worthily accounted to be blessed.

And both do accuse Israel, as having stretched forth unrighteously their hands against the Lord.

Wherefore by their prayers, Christ our God, cast down them that are against us, and strengthen the true Faith, in Thy love for man."






Medial signatures of Mode I and of Modes I and III Plagal occur at the places marked above.

Canon Διὰ στύλου: Cod. Cantab. Trinit., 1165.* Mode I.

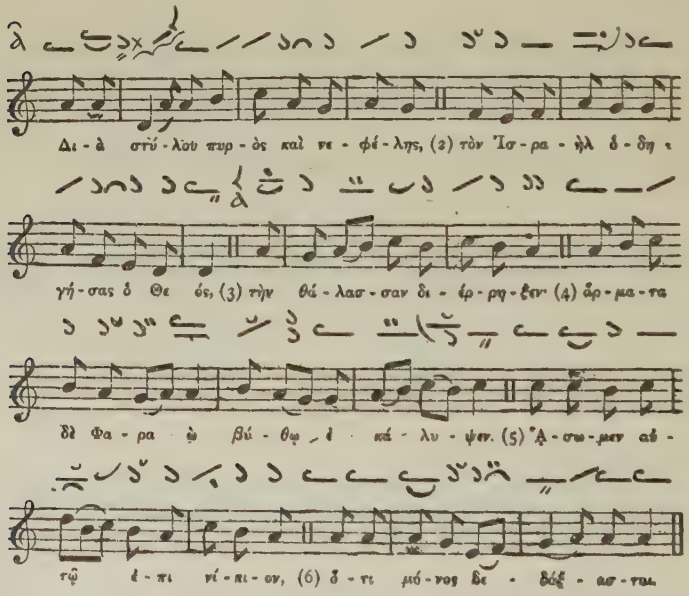



FIG. 6.

* For this MS., see "Annual of Brit. Sch. at Athens," XXI., p. 136.

We note: line 1, over the second note, a Petaste annulled by the Ison (again, lines 5 and 6). This is followed by an Apostrophus, subordinated to Chamele (= descending 5th) and an Oxeia, subordinated to Hypsele (= 5th upwards). In line 2, over -ηλ, is the Xeron Klasma (slight accent and staccato: need not be expressed here); over (3) stands a conventional form of the signature of Mode I. Over τὴν all three signs count, thus making an ascending 5th. Line 4, over -ὼ Apoderma, making a crotchet; over -λυ- Bareia, separation-mark.

*Translation:—*

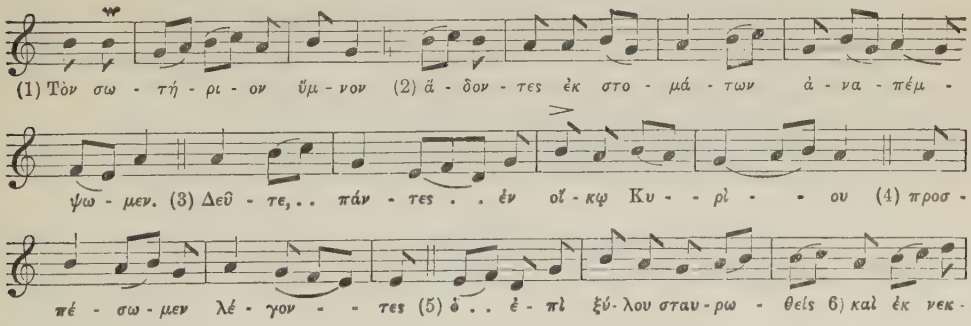
"God, having led Israel by a pillar of fire and cloud, parted the sea, and buried in the depth the chariots of Pharoah. Let us sing to Him a song of victory, for He alone hath triumphed."

Mode II.—We give an example taken from a fine reproduction in Thibaut's book.* The latter has not supplied any transcription, though there is no difficulty in the present case. Neither words nor music are of special merit. A medial cadence on the lower Finalis is marked by the signature of the plagal mode, without, of course, any change of scale. Frequent pauses are made on *a*. The mordentes and grace-notes here and elsewhere, are implied, according to a probable view, when an ascending sign is annulled by a descending sign, or by the sign of repetition.

Mode II. From the "Stitchera Anastasima."

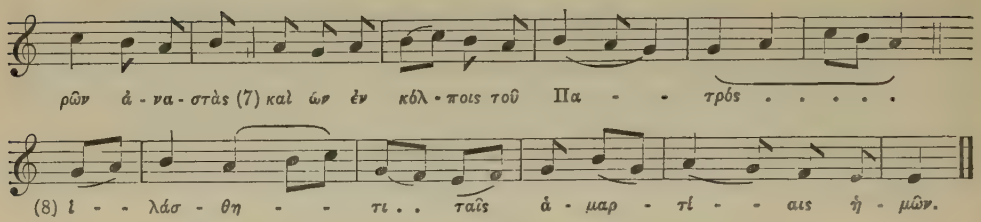
*Translation.—*

"Singing, let us utter from our lips the hymn of salvation. Hither all; let us bow down in the house of the Lord, saying: Thou, who wast crucified upon the Tree, and did'st rise from the dead, who art in the bosom of the Father, be gracious unto our sins."




* *Origine byz.*, etc., pl. XI.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE LIBRARY




Mode II. Plagal: Diatonic. Cod. Athon. Vatoped. 288, f. 372.* Part of Antiphon from Octoechus, equals Ps. 124. (See Fig. 7.)

The Gorgon (quick-sign) occurs several times, and seems to be a warning against a rallentando in performance of a flourish. The Kylisma is a slur under these same groups. At the beginning of the second line of music is the Kratema (making a crotchet). The distinction between this and the Xeron Klasma (slight accent and staccato) is not always very clear. Kratema recurs in line 3 over *-θροῦ-*. Line 2, over *-μῶν*, the Piasma marks a group of descending notes.†

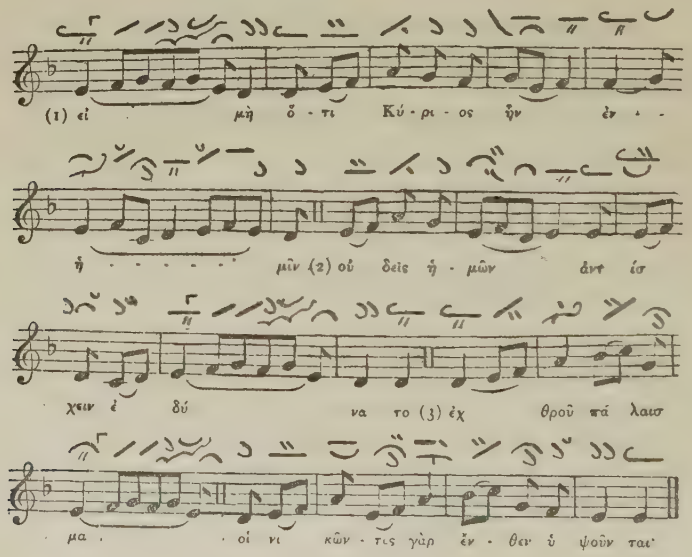



Fig. 7.

* For description of this magnificent manuscript, in the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos, see "Mus. Antiqu.," 1913, p. 205.

† The Piasma must be carefully distinguished from the Kentemata, the shapes being much alike in MSS. of XII and XIV. centuries.

CHAPTER IX

# The Cucuzelian Notation

The use of the interval-signs lasted almost unchanged from the 13th to the 18th centuries. There was therefore no sharp division between the classical Round System and that usually named after the famous mediæval precentor, Cucuzeles. Certain tendencies, however, make themselves felt in the later mediæval music, which soon give it a very different character from the earlier forms. New laws of rhythm appear. Further, there is a growing use of certain stereotyped phrases, often marked by special subsidiaries, which tend to give an air of monotony to the music. Another sign of declining taste is the admission of long meaningless vocal passages into the hymns. These are usually set to the syllables Te-re-rem (a formula of uncertain meaning, probably of none whatever), from which the practice was called Teretism.

A few specimens of the Cucuzelian System will illustrate the various points just mentioned. The version of one of the Hirmi of the Easter canon,* well shows the feeble uniformity of phrase already referred to.

Canon for Easter by S. John of Damascus. Ode III.

Mode I. Cucuzelian System (see Fig 8, second hymn).

In the Cucuzelian version we observe especially the use of the Gorgon, marking semi-quavers. The Little Ison (line 3), is applied to double consonants, and seems to indicate a grace-note. It probably also prolongs the following note, unless, as here, the contrary is prescribed by a Gorgon. Sometimes it stands *after* another sign, as in line 2. The subsidiaries most used are the Lygisma—line 1; Antikenoma—line 2; Psephiston—line 3—etc.

Mode I. Plagal: Mixed chromatic form. Cambridge Univ. Libr., Ad. 3051, f. 1. Part of Antiphon from Octoechus, equals Ps. 150 (see Fig. 8, first hymn).

* For translation of the words see Neale, "Hist. of Holy East. Ch.," Pt. I. 2, p. 880.

The chromatic Phthora, or Nenano, in the second bar, introduces a modulation into the second form of the Chromatic Mode (Finalis *d*). Its effect probably lasts only up to the end of the phrase. The subsidiary in Bar 1 is most likely a late form of Parakletike. At the beginning of line 4, the MS. puts the Hypsele *above* the Petaste ; but this is an error, since a fifth (not a sixth) is needed. The subsidiary below this is a late form of the Kratema.

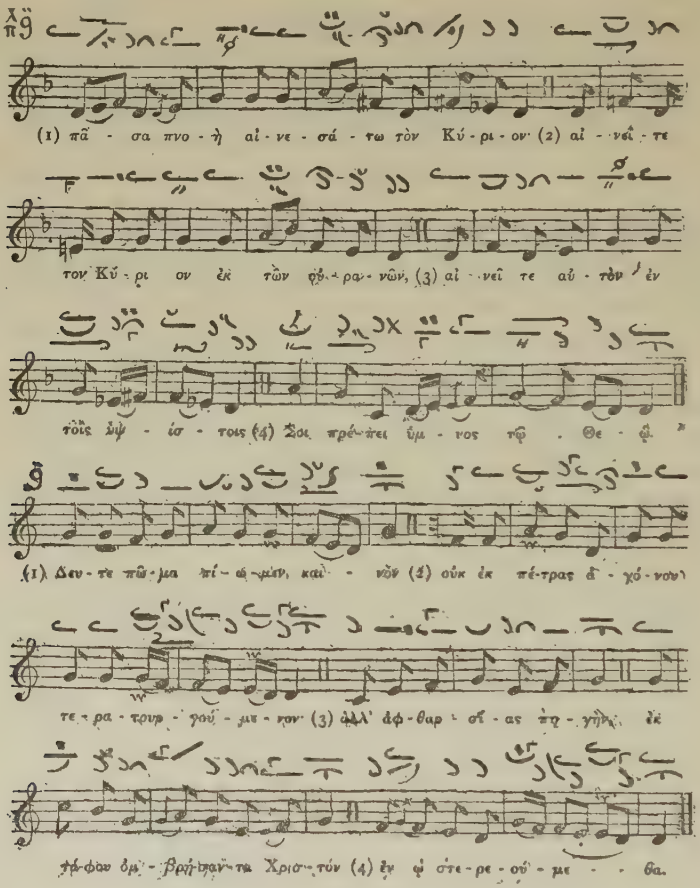



FIG. 8.

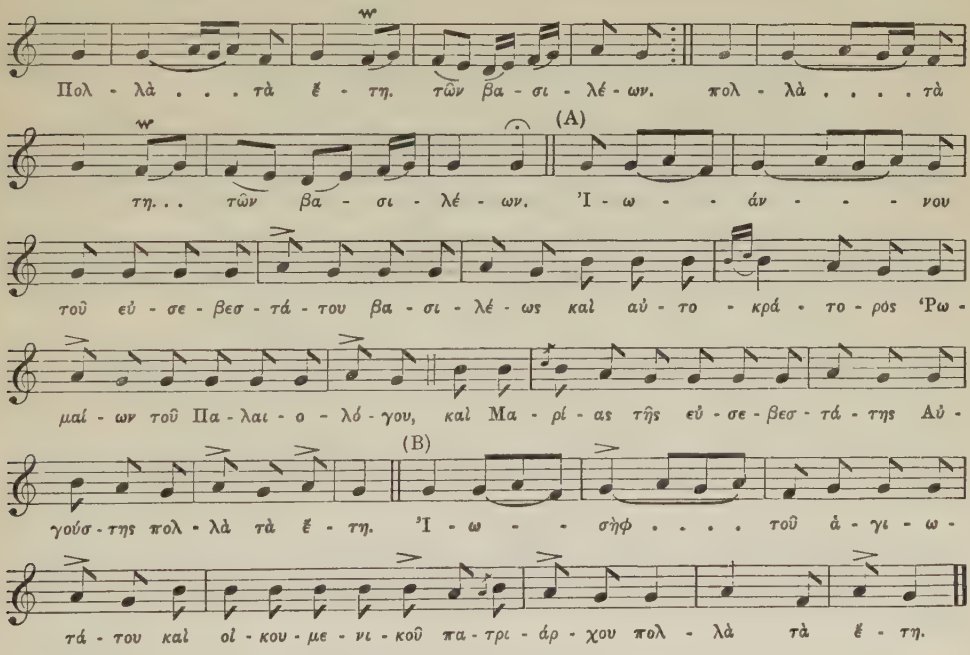
As a further illustration I also given a specimen of the Acclamations of Byzantine Emperors and prelates, which throw light on matters of history, as well as of music. The present hymn* is in honour of John Palæologus, the last but one

* For further information see "Annual of Brit. Sch. at Athens," No. XVIII., pp. 239–260.

of the Eastern emperors, his third wife (Maria Comnena, of Trebizond), and the Patriarch Joseph II., who died at Florence in 1439. The MS. (Athos, Pantocrator, 214), is contemporary with this emperor.

The following are the rubrics :—Title : "The Blessing of the Sovrans. The singer on the Bema saith first :—(The music then begins.) At (A) : Those outside answer the same, and again those within in honour of the Sovrans. At (B) : And those without again same, and again those within in honour of the Patriarch." The words are : "Many be the years of the Sovrans ! Many be the years of John, the most religious king and emperor of the Romans, the Palaeologus, and of Mary, the most religious Empress. Many be the years of Joseph, the most holy Œcumenical Patriarch !"

(Adagio). Euphemesis for John Palaeologus. Mode IV.




*Before* (A) *an Ison should probably be read.*

CHAPTER X

# The Modern System of Greek Church Music

The reformed notation of Chrysanthus, published in 1821, is still used in the Greek Church; and the sacred melodies, as transcribed or composed by his followers, or under his influence, survive in those places of worship where Western ideas of tonality and harmony have not made themselves felt. Chrysanthus' own manual has been followed as the original authority for the instructions here offered.*

*The Parallage or Sol-fa.*—This (a useful invention of Chrysanthus) is made up of the first seven letters of the Greek alphabet. Every vowel receives a consonant, and *vice versa*, the syllables being:—

πA Βου Γα Δι κE Ζω νH

In future we shall give them in Roman letters. The following are their musical values:—

| *d* | *e* | *f* | *g* | *a* | *b* | *c'* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| pa | you | gha | dhi | ke | zo | ni |

*The Martyriae or Signatures of the Modes.*—The signature implies both the number of the mode and the note taken as starting-point for the melody. Such a note may be called by its Latin name *Finalis*, since it is, as a rule, also the cadential note.

The signature always consists of two parts: (*a*) a syllable, or letter from the Sol-fa (giving the *Finalis*), and (*b*) a conventional symbol of long-forgotten and in some cases obscure origin, denoting the number of the mode. (These signs, as already explained, were at the outset numerical, being the first four letters of the alphabet, used as numbers.)

* Chrysanthus, *v.* bibliography. For a detailed practical guide see also Rebours, "Traité de Psaltique." This differs often on minor points from the views of Chrysanthus.

Thus, in Mode I., the symbol $\ddot{9}$ (a conventional form of *a*) is used; if we are to begin on a, the initial of ke is added; if from d, the initial of pa—as this mode admits either a or d as *Finalis*—and similarly with the other modes. For the plagal modes the letters πλ, are added (initials of πλάγιος, plagal). (See table in Fig. 9.)

### The Modes in the Chrysanthine System.

We shall tabulate and explain the modern modes in order, following the most widely accepted forms and avoiding minute details. As the accounts of theorists often disagree, and there are signs of irremediable confusion and overlapping of modes, it is impossible to classify every peculiarity. In singing, Greek precentors allow themselves considerable freedom.

### Mode I.

This belongs to the " diatonic " species, which is described by Chrysanthus and his followers somewhat as follows: The octave is divided into 68 fractions, or points. Of these, 12 make a major tone, 9 a minor tone, and 7 a minimum tone. On the same principle, our tone and semitone (equal temperament) would be $11\frac{1}{3}$ and $5\frac{2}{3}$ points respectively. Thus the Greek scale is not in accord with our own, and cannot be played on our keyed instruments. Singers who have come under Western influence tend to ignore this difference and to make both major and minor tones equal to our whole tones, and the minimum tone to our semitone. (On a first hearing, the Greek scale simply sounds out of tune.)

The first mode will therefore be as follows:

*d e f g a b c′ d′*
9 7 12 12 9 7 12

In descent *b*-flat is usual. The compass is not restricted to one octave, extension both ways being allowed; *d* is the usual *Finalis*. For middle cadences *f* and *g* are also used.

### Mode II.

The second mode is classed as " chromatic," and according to Chrysanthus has the following scale:—

7 12 7 12 7 12 7
approximately *c ♭d e f g ♭a b c′*
$\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{5}{4}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{5}{4}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{5}{4}$ $\frac{3}{4}$

This series of irrational intervals is usually modified somewhat as follows:—

*c ♭d e f g ♭a b c′*
$\frac{1}{2}$ $1\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{5}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$

In other words, the *a*-flat is kept slightly sharp, but the rest of the scale is simplified.

### Mode III.

This mode, though classed by Chrysanthus as "enharmonic," is in practice identical with the scale of *f* major. Chrysanthus regards the whole-tones as major tones (12 or 13 points) and the intervening sounds as quarter-tones (other authors say thirds of tones). But, as usage is entirely against him, we shall not concern ourselves further with this discrepancy. (For an example: *v.* "Musical Antiquary," January, 1911, p. 96.)

### Mode IV.

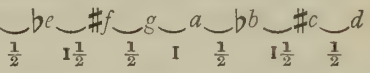
This has two chief forms: (1) From *e*; it is then called *Legetos*. (2) From *g*; or from *d*. The scale is "diatonic," as in Mode I.

### Mode I (Plagal).

This has the same scale as the first authentic and uses the same signatures, with the addition, where desired, of the abbreviation, πλ. for "plagal." Middle cadences are made on *g*, *a*, and (in hirmological hymns)* on *c*. The *Finalis* is mostly *d*, rarely *a*. Occasionally *b* is lowered rather more than a semitone. Otherwise *b*-natural is usually found; but *b*-flat may be freely introduced.

### Mode II (Plagal).

(1) Here we find a characteristic and very popular scale,




belonging to the "chromatic" species. *Finalis d*. (2) Mixed; lower tetrachord as above; upper diatonic *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.

This variety is especially common in folksongs, both Greek and Turkish. (3) Hirmological form = Mode II, authentic.

### Mode III (Plagal). The Deep Mode (*Barys*).

This has two forms: (1) Diatonic from low *b*. Theorists differ as to the precise notes to be used. (2) Practically the same as the third authentic mode—our *f* major. Chrysanthus indeed says that the interval *a*—*b*-flat is now a minimum tone instead of a quarter tone; but this difference is not usually upheld.

### Mode IV (Plagal).

This belongs to the "diatonic" species, and has *c* as its *Finalis*. It should therefore use the series of intervals already given under Mode I. But in practice it is sung like our *c* major with frequent accidental *b*-flat. Some writers even declare this to be the *only* Byzantine mode that western musicians can understand.

In long hymns, the composer will pass freely from one mode to another, using the various modulants and signatures. Such a course is natural; but it is more perplexing to find a piece sung entirely out of its proper mode. In such cases the initial signature is of less importance than the modulation-signs, which must be carefully followed in order to divine the composer's intentions.

* *i.e.*, Hymns in quick time without florid passages.

### Evidence for Eastern Origin of Modern System.

Having thus explained the Chrysanthine tone-system, we would now suggest that its peculiarities are capable of very simple explanation. *The whole fabric is not Greek at all, but Oriental.* This does not mean that no genuine Byzantine melodies have survived. On the contrary, I am convinced that a great many have come down more or less intact by oral tradition, and are now enshrined in the printed books. But the theoretical basis of the modern scales is borrowed from the East.

A few arguments may be given in support of this view:—

(1) Some Greek writers actually apply the Arabo-Turkish names to the Byzantine modes. This is done regularly by Christodulus Georgiades,* a follower of Chrysanthus. Moreover, the latter carefully tabulates the Turkish scales or *maqams* in his own symbols, thus showing that these signs could perfectly express Oriental varieties of the scale.† Such works on Arabo-Turkish and Arabian music as I have been able to study do not entirely agree among themselves.‡ But they give proof enough of the substantial identity of the Chrysanthine system with their own.

(2) Chrysanthus invented several chromatic signs, in addition to what he found in mediæval MSS. Thus, besides inventing signs for our *sharp* and *flat* (the idea of which he seems to have borrowed from the West) he has provided new *phthorae* for modifications of $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tone. It follows that there was something in his music for which the existing symbols did not supply any expression. New features had come into singing, and had to be embodied in the new notation. Now, in the early nineteenth century most of the Greek world had been continuously under Oriental sway for many ages. The Greeks, an inventive, artistic race, had been making music for the Turks, just as their ancestors had done for the Romans. But the Turks demanded Oriental music, which the Greeks were obliged to learn. We are expressly told that Petrus Peloponnesius (died in 1777)‖, who recomposed many Greek hymns, also wrote Turkish secular songs. In this way the Eastern non-diatonic scales invaded Byzantine music.

(3) It is well known that the ancient Greek enharmonic genus was obsolete many centuries before the invention of the Byzantine notation. This genus was

* Δοκίμιον ἐκκλ. μελῶν: Athens, 1856. † Op. cit., p. 84.
‡ See "Annual of Brit. Sch. at Ath." xxii pp. 133 ff.
‖ Precentor at Constantinople: also called Bereketes and Lampadarius.

always held to be difficult and better suited to professional musicians than to ordinary singers. To suppose, therefore, that such a scale, after persisting exclusively in popular tradition throughout the Middle Ages, should suddenly emerge on the evocation of Chrysanthus (whose account of it is quite incorrect) seems an incredibly far-fetched explanation.

(4) The remarks of mediæval theorists on the nature of the modes are very scanty. The most important writer on music, Manuel Bryennius* (early fourteenth century), was more concerned with the ancient Greek system than with the usage of his own day. It appears that the system of Byrennius was diatonic, consisting of normal tones and semi-tones. The difference between greater and lesser tones he regards as purely theoretical, being so slight that the human ear could not perceive it. Chrysanthus seems to have borrowed the same terminology to describe the irrational scale of his own system, where the greater tone is nearly five-fourths of a normal tone, and the lesser tone about $\frac{3}{4}$, the two sounding, of course, perfectly distinct to any ear.

*The Drone or Ison.*—The melody is in one vocal part, without instrumental accompaniment. But some support is given by the Ison, or holding-note, which is usually the lower Finalis, sung by one or two voices during the chant. If there are also boys in the choir, they double the Ison in their own register. The effect is much fuller and more satisfying than might be imagined.

*Species of Hymns.*—Theory distinguishes the following:—† (a) Hirmological—in quick time with few florid passages. The Hirmi (typical verses) of the Canons and their Troparia (imitated verses) are placed under this head. (b) Sticherarical—in moderate time with some florid passages. The Idiomela (hymns with original tune) belong, among others, to this class. (The word is derived from Stichera, a generic name for various kinds of hymns.) (c) Papadical—in slow, free time, with frequent long florid passages and vocalisations. The well-known Cherubic Hymn is set in this style. (Derivation from Papas, "Priest." Style used for intoning by officiating clergy.) Besides the difference of rhythm, there are also differences in the musical scale in some of the modes, according to the species of hymn.

*The Interval-signs.*—The signature or Martyria, as has been explained, gives the point of departure for the melody; but its actual progressions, whether in

* See W. Christ, "Sitzungsberichte d. k. bayerischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften," phil. hist. Klasse, 1870, vol. ii., pp. 241–270.

† Chrysanthus, §§ 402 ff.

ascent, descent, or repetition, are shown by interval-signs. These are: for repeated note, Ison. Ascending: Second—Oligon, Petaste, Kentemata; third—Kentema; fifth—Hypsele. Descending: Second—Apostrophus; third—Elaphron; fifth—Chamele. Two descending seconds in succession: Hyporrhoe. These signs have all been taken over from the Round System, and have the forms already given in our illustrations.* The remaining interval-signs are now disused.

Those signs that indicate progression by *step* are still called Somata (" bodies "), while those denoting *leaps* are called Pneumata (" spirits "). The latter seldom stand alone; but, when written below a Soma, or to the right of it, they absorb its interval-value and deprive it of sound. This process is called Hypotaxis or subordination. The rules of subordination are substantially the same as in the Round System; but the following differences should be noted:—(1) Elaphron and Chamele may stand alone at their nominal value (3rd and 5th downwards). (2) The compound Apostrophus-Elaphron now makes two downward steps of a second, the former and the *preceding note* being shortened. (3) An ascending sign, annulled by an Ison or a descending sign, has no musical effect whatever.

*Subsidiary Signs: Rhythm.* Besides the signatures and interval-signs, the modern system has a great number of auxiliary symbols connected with rhythm, expression, or some other peculiarity of execution. These subsidiaries are called hypostases.

(a) For Rhythm we have:—

Slow time ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... B 1 (Fig. 9)

Quick time ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... B 2 (Fig. 9)

These are chiefly used when time changes. For moderate time no sign is needed. Plain notes are transcribed as crotchets.

(*b*) Prolongation of Notes is shown by:—(1) Dots placed beneath; one dot, called Haple, turns crotchet into minim; three dots make a semi-breve; and so on with four or more dots if required (see Fig. 9, B 3). (2) Klasma :— this turns a crotchet into a minim, adding a slight tremolo (B 4).

(*c*) Subdivision of Notes.—(1) The Gorgon indicates half-length. It is usually placed over the second of two signs, the notes then becoming quavers. These may or may not belong to different syllables. With the Klasma, the Gorgon

* See Fig. 1, p. 45.

makes a dotted crotchet, followed by a quaver. A double Gorgon makes a triplet, and a three-fold Gorgon four semi-quavers (see Fig. 9, B 5).

(*d*) Syncopated and Dotted Notes.—These are shown by the addition of a dot to the Gorgon, or by the Argon. Authorities disagree so much about the rules that we can do no more than refer the student to the standard text-books in our bibliography. (Two examples, B 6).

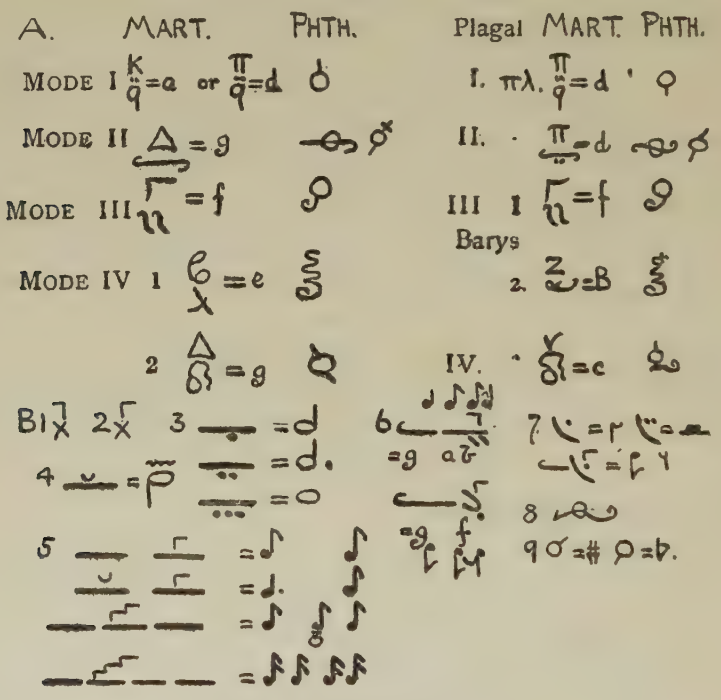



FIG. 9.—*Modern Notation.*

A. Usual forms of Signatures (Martyriæ) and Modulants (Phthoræ). B. Subsidiary Signs.

(*e*) Rests.—The Bareia with Haple, Diple, etc., makes a rest of the proper length (crotchet rest, minim rest, etc.). For shorter rests the Gorgon may be added (see Fig. 9, B 7).

(*f*) Bar-marks.—No regular division of music into bars is prescribed by Chrysanthus, though it is occasionally found in his notation. In such cases small

vertical strokes are used, like our own bars (and, no doubt, borrowed from the West), the time usually being "common."

Other Subsidiaries.—Besides the marks of rhythm, having a definite effect on the time, there are other Hypostases which modify the execution in various ways. Chrysanthus has the following:—

Bareia, mark of separation, implying a slight accent.
Homalon, tremolo.
Antikenoma, slur.
Psephiston, slight accent.
Heteron, slur; all these have the same forms as in the Round Notation.
Endophonon, nasal sound, mostly applied to prolonged notes. Is like the Heteron with a circle over the middle (see Fig. 9, B 8).

*Chromatic Signs*.—(*a*) The signs answering to our sharp and flat were apparently borrowed by Chrysanthus from the West (see Fig. 9, B 9). He says that these may serve for any modification less than a whole-tone, since minuter divisions, viz. $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tone, are also admitted, and have, in addition, their own proper symbols. Owing to disagreement between authorities, I must again refer the student to the text-books for the precise shapes. These signs are accidental, and do not generally affect more than one note at a time. (*b*) All modes (as in the Round System) have their Phthoræ or Modulation-marks. These are chiefly used when the music passes from one mode to another, and especially when a change of species, *e.g.*, from diatonic to chromatic, is implied. Thus, if in Mode IV. we have made a cadence on *g* (dhi), and wish to proceed in Mode II. Plagal (chromatic), we write the Modulant or Phthora (Nenano) of this mode, and the melody will now be chromatic, until another Modulant or change of signature restores the diatonic.

In the diatonic species every note of the octave has its own Phthora, so that modulations within the species are also possible. Thus, if we have reached *f* and write the Phthora of *e*, we should have to sing, say, *f*, *g*, *a*, like *e*, *f*, *g*—that is, as a semitone, followed by a tone; in other words, *f*, *g-flat*, *a-flat*. Sudden transformations of this sort are difficult in unaccompanied singing, and are seldom found. When chromatic adornment is required, an excursion is usually made into the chromatic species. The modulants are given in Fig. 9.

We give our example with the original notation, which will be easily understood after the explanations already supplied. Anyone wishing to undertake a more detailed study of the modern system should, if possible, take lessons from a Greek precentor, besides studying the admirable text-book of Rebours, to which we have often referred.

Canon for Easter, Ode I., Mode I. (Finalis *d*).

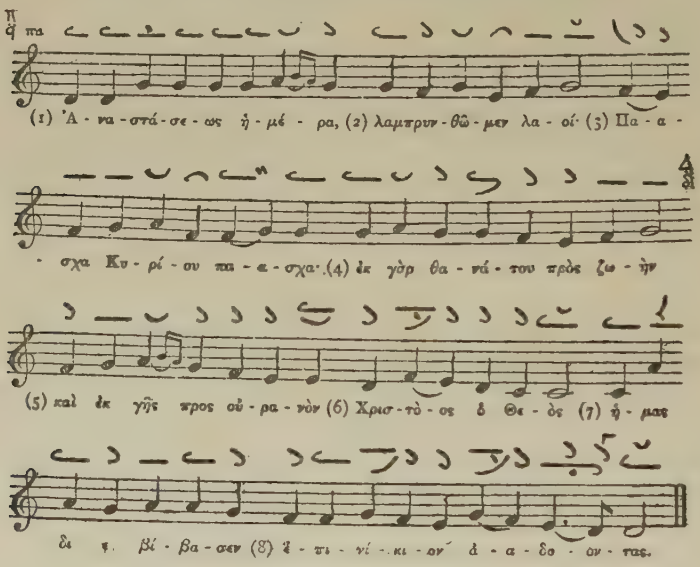



Fig. 10.

The Petaste implies an *ad libitum* ornamentation. The repetition of vowels is a device to aid the singer; it has no effect on the time.

*Folksongs.*—Collections of Greek folksongs have appeared both in Byzantine and in European notation,* while single songs are often printed in Greek musical papers, especially the "Phorminx," published at Athens.

In general, the folksongs show the same features of tonality as the hymns, but they do not seem to use any enharmonic or irrational progressions.

* For collections of Folksongs see our bibliography. Some specimens, taken down by phonograph, are given in Pernot and Legrand, "Ile de Chio." I give three more examples in "Annual of Br. Sch. at Athens," No. XXII., p. 150.

CHAPTER XI

# The Future of Byzantine Music

For musical palæographers there is still much work to do in the domain of our present studies. The first need is for a collation of the best MSS. in the Round System, with a view to tracing their affinities and the parallel lines of musical tradition. The examples show, in some cases, a striking persistence of melody in MSS. widely sundered in date, but elsewhere great freedom and multiformity within a short period of time. A thorough classification is therefore demanded. This would be followed by a complete musical edition of the Hirmologium and Sticherarium, embodying the chief varieties of the text. The notation could be printed without difficulty, if a proper fount of type were cast, similar to that now used for the Chrysanthine system in the Greek Church, while the task of copying and verifying the notes could be shared by a number of scholars, as is usually done with a Corpus of ancient inscriptions. Such a recension would make the materials accessible to all students, and would form the natural basis for further investigation. Meanwhile, the Neumes should be widely explored by the comparative method, until all the symbols have been tabulated and their values ascertained. With regard to the Cucuzelian System, the most important documents are liturgies set to music, psalms, polychronisms, exercises, and other pieces not usually found in the classical Round Notation. But much patience will be needed to disentangle such works from the less valuable stuff which bulks largest in late MSS.

It need hardly be said that the publication of mediæval Greek music on a grand scale would give an impetus to reform in the contemporary Greek Church. At present there is a conservative party, clinging to the rules of Chrysanthus, and an innovating faction which has introduced part-singing into most of the city churches, especially at Athens.* Probably the harmonised singing of the modern

* For other remarks on this point, and an example of such harmonised chant, see "Musical Antiq.," 1911, pp. 89–90, 97.

Russian Church has influenced Greek musicians. But although the Russians, with their national gift of song, and their far-sought, highly-trained choristers, obtain magnificent effects, the actual music is generally heavy and uninteresting, and falls far short of the Byzantine in variety and resource.* If patriotic Greeks would combine the cultivation of folksongs with the revival of mediæval chant, they would not only be saving from oblivion a wealth of priceless melody, peculiarly their own, but would also secure for the Hellenic nation the best omen for a splendid musical development in the future.

If Western composers care to introduce into their works any subjects or motives from Byzantine music, no one would begrudge them. But an attempt to harmonise Byzantine hymns or to adapt them to a conventional European pattern for congregational use seems to us a mistake. We do not undervalue the brilliant attempts of Randhartinger, Hatherly† and others in this direction, and satisfactory results may sometimes be gained. Our plea is that Greek music should be sung in the Greek way—unaccompanied, save by the drone, and in free rhythm. For such performance no knowledge of the Byzantine notation would be needed. An accurate transcription, either in Gregorian four-line staff, or in our ordinary clefs, would answer perfectly, so long as the singer had a general notion of the mediæval style of chant.‡ Seeing the glorious re-awakening of Gregorian music in our own time, we may not unreasonably hope that its Eastern counterpart will also regain a worthy position.

* Travellers in Russia usually speak in glowing terms of the Church singing. When at the Skete of S. Andrew on Mt. Athos, I noticed in the visitors' book an entry in this sense, just before my own. There the choir is divided into three sections, two on the floor, and the third concealed in a gallery. The vocal effects were wonderful. But a glance at the specimens of music given by Rebours, "Traité de Psaltique," App. II., will convince anyone of the commonplace nature of the melody and harmony. The singing, even of village choirs in Russia is often remarkably fresh and tuneful. On the other hand, the Greek monks at Athos despise the Russian part-singing, declaring that anybody, whatever his voice were like, could sing in a Russian choir. We are glad to see that the recent manual "Arion," by Remantas and Zacharias (see bibliography) is in favour of safeguarding the musical heritage of Greece.

† See the specimens in Neale and Hatherly, "Hymns of the Eastern Church with Music, and the latter's "Treatise on Byzantine Music."

‡ English translations do not suit the Byzantine rhythms; but Latin versions could be used, if desired.

# Index


Acathistus Hymnus, 16
Acclamation, 58–9
Acrostics, 8, 23
Anacreontic metres, 2, 6
Anastasius, 18
Anatolius, Saint (*ob.* 458), 10
Anatolius II., 28
Andreas Pyrrhus, 29
Andrew of Crete, Saint, 19, 22
Antiphon, 21, 56, 57

Bryennius, Manuel, 64
Byzantius, 30

Canon, 18, 19, 21–24, 32, 33, 54 (*see also Hirmus*)
Casia (Cassiane), 29, 51, 52
Chromatic element in Byzantine music, 43, 57–8, 62–3, 67
Chrysanthus, 39, 60 ff.
Claudian, 5
Clement, 5
Colon, 40
Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Imp.), 35
Contacion, 11, 20
Cosmas, Saint, 20, 22–23
Cucuzeles, 39, 57
Cyril, Bp. 10

Damascene, *v.* John of Damascus, Saint

Ecphonetic notation, 38
Elias Syncellus, 6
Eothina Anastasima, 34
Ephraim of Caria, 29
Epigrams, Christian, 5
Exaposteilaria, 35

Folksongs, 68

Germanus, Saint, 28
Gregory Nazianzen, 3

Hirmus, 19, 51, 57, 68
Horologium, 7, 8, 9
Hypostasis, 48
Hypotaxis, 46 ff.

Icasia, *v.* Casia
Idiomelon, 10, 21, 28, 51, 53
Interval signs (modern system), 64 ff.
—— —— (round system), 45
Ison (or drone), 64, 70

Johannes Monachus, 35
John of Damascus, Saint, 7, 20–24, 57, 68
John Mauropus *or* Euchaiton, 35
Joseph of the Studium, Saint, 34
Justinian, Imp., 10

Laodicea, Council of, 8
Leo VI. (Imp., 886–917), 6, 34
Linear notation, 38

Martyria, 50, 60
Mauropus, John, 35
Methodius, Saint, 3
Methodius II., Saint, 34
Metrophanes, 34
Modes, Byzantine, 41–44
—— Modern, 49 ff., 61–64

Nenano, 43, 50
Neumes, Byzantine, 38
Nonnus, 2

Octoechus, 10, 21
Oriental influence in Byzantine Music, 63

Pambo, 9
Papadike, 39
Papyrus fragment, 5
Paracletice, 19, 21
Parallage, 60
Part-singing in Greek Church, 69
Petrus Peloponnesius (*or* Lampadarius), 63
Photius, 6, 34
Phthora, 43, 50, 66
Pneuma, 45–48
Polychronism, *v.* Acclamation

Rhythm, 39
—— in Greek Hymnography, 9, 11
Rhythmical signs, 49, 65
Romanus, Saint, 11–16, 18
Round notation, 39, 45
Russian Church music, 38, 70

Sergius, 16
Soma, 45–48
Sophronius, 6
Stichera Anastasima, 28
—— Prosomoea, 26–27
Sticherarium, 51
Studium, 32 ff.
Subsidiary signs, 48 ff., 65 ff.
Symeon, 6
Synesius, 1

Teretism, 57
Theodore of the Studium, Saint, 33
Theophanes, 32
Triodium, 21, 23

Printed in Great Britain by MACKAYS LTD., Chatham.